18
APRIL 1988

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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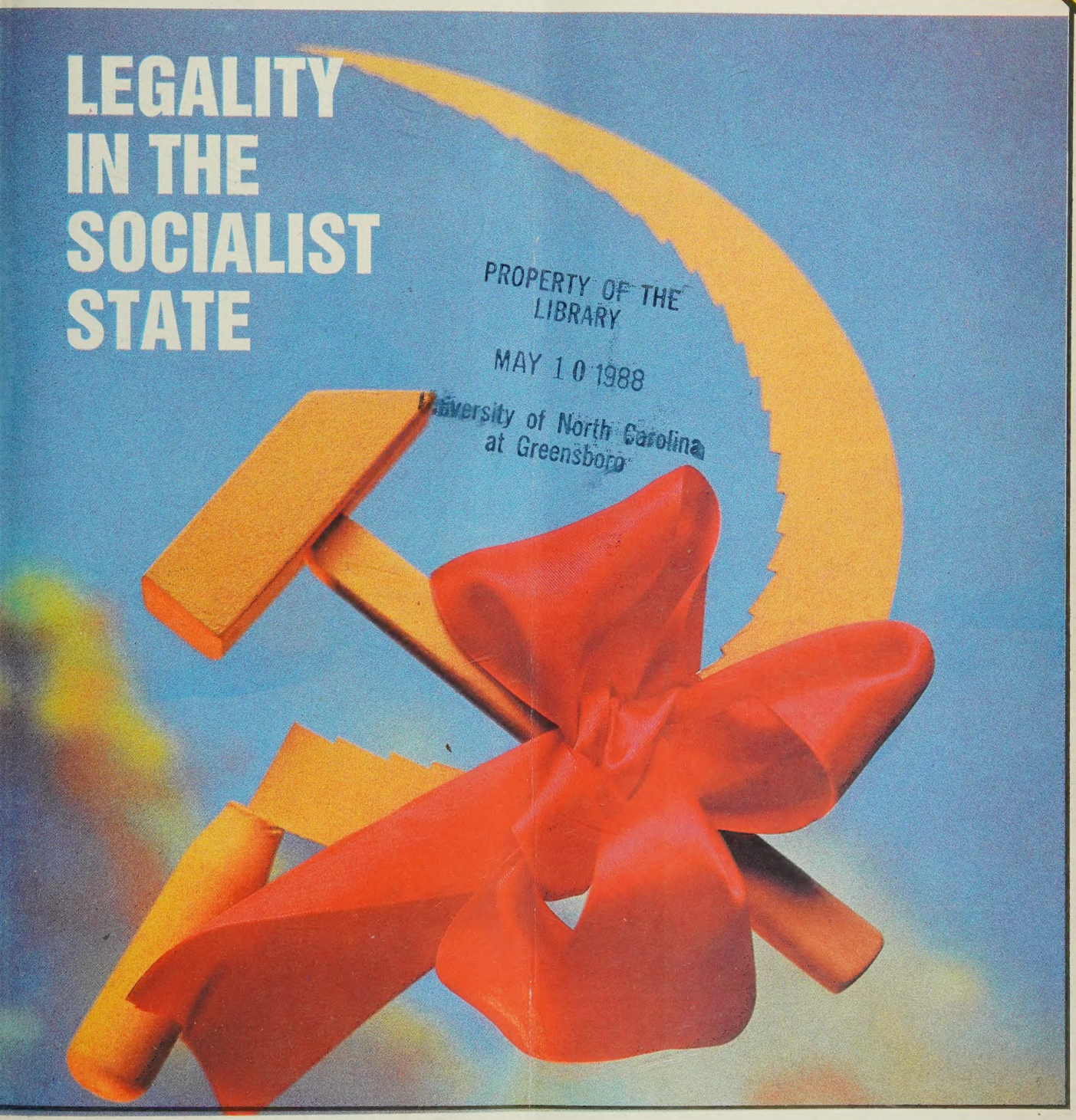

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NEW TIMES

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EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

"We have come to know each other better in the process of working on difficult and tense problems. We have confidence that we can work problems and tackle new ones." From an interview granted by George Shultz to a New Times correspondent.
See p. 5

Mikhail Gorbachev and George Shultz meet on April 22

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COMMENT

ROY BENNETT
New York, U.S.A.

■ The successful Geneva agreements on Afghanistan between the U.S.S.R., the U.S. and Pakistan, resulting in the forthcoming withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Afghanistan will have a stunning impact on the American people.

In its initial stage there will be two contrary trends: one, a great sigh of relief that one of the major regional conflicts may well be on the road to resolution and two, there will be an effort to make it appear that the Soviets suffered a significant defeat resulting in their withdrawal.

However, the far more lasting and difficult to overestimate, positive result is a powerful blow to the cold warriors and confrontationists in the U.S. Only an American can know the depth and corrosive nature of the "bellicose expanding Soviet empire" campaign waged for nearly 40 years against the Soviet Union.

The "expansionist red enemy," the "evil empire" has been the bread and butter of nearly every U.S. administration, the print media and television since the end of World War II. The Geneva agreement cuts the ground from under this crusade making it much harder to maintain its credibility. It is to be hoped that this turn is a harbinger of rethinking in our country as "new thinking" is in yours.

Finally, the accords underline two new important facts. First, that when the superpowers act together, regional conflicts once considered almost hopeless, become solvable. Second, the patient participation for almost seven years of the United Nations representative, Diego Cordovez, demonstrates the future viability of that organization.

The Gorbachev administration—which did not make the original Afghan decision—is to be congratulated on its realism as is the U.S. administration for its common sense.

Editor's note: ROY BENNETT is a U.S. citizen. He was for 20 years United Nations correspondent for the London Tribune and is currently a National Board member of Americans for Democratic Action, a national liberal organization of largely Democratic Party supporters.

VALERY KARASYOV
member of the Council of soldiers-internationalists of the Gagarin district of Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ I have been to practically every region of Afghanistan as part of my military service. I went to the northern and southern provinces, I went to the border, and I was posted in Kabul. I met with representatives of all sections of the Afghan population. While talking to them I tried to understand their attitude to the situation that had emerged. I was always amazed by the wide variety of opinions and widely different approaches. Very often the attitudes of local people to the presence of our soldiers on their land and military actions depended on the attitude of the priest and on whether our servicemen managed to persuade them that the policy of the Afghan government was correct, and that they should resume their peaceful occupations.

The same variety of attitudes can be observed among members of the armed bands which are not entirely made up of counterrevolutionaries. Their composition is extremely mixed. Very often, people who have been intimidated and misled, and who fear a blood feud, become involved in them. On one occasion a group of armed bandits came over to our side. We spent a long time persuading them that we would give them a chance to live and work in peace and feed their families, and in the end, cautious and mistrustful, the band decided to come over. They were greatly surprised when they saw that we really did not want to do them any harm. It took an effort on our part to be calm, as our comrades had died at the hands of these people.

I was delighted to hear of the signing of the Geneva agreements. Having done my service in Afghanistan, I understand how great is the desire for peace in that country and how tired its people are of the devastation brought by the war. I am sure, however, that even after a truce has been concluded there will unfortunately be problems. There are grounds to fear that arms supplies will continue, albeit not at government levels. Arms can still be smuggled into the country, and my own experience suggests how difficult it is to seal off all the borders and close all loopholes, especially in the mountainous regions through which arms are taken into the country. It is virtually impossible to intercept all caravans. Ultimately, resolving the issue depends on the mutual trust and ethics of relations between the countries that signed the agreements, and on their commitment to them.

GLASNOST
From our mailbag

THE WAY I SEE IT

MIKHAIL KRASOV
Kalinin, U.S.S.R.

■ You have written about the need for a better knowledge of our history, and I want to join this discussion. We often say that perestroika is, in effect, a revolutionary transformation of society. Quite right. I think it will be a hard and long process. There might be even recessions in the economy at its initial stage. But we should not be afraid of that. After the economy reaches a turning point it will develop at a rapid pace, and we shall attain a qualitatively new level of development. But this will happen only if we do not repeat the past mistakes. For this purpose it is necessary to get a better knowledge of our history.

What has been happening till the present day? For one or another reason of a subjective character whole periods in the history of our country were "blacked out." Today, our schoolchildren know well about the life of a primitive man and practically nothing about the quite recent period connected with Nikita Khrushchov. Yet the first attempt to carry out economic and political reforms was made at that time. The reforms got bogged down then. Why? Without a clear answer to this question we shall hardly be able to cope with the truly immense tasks we are facing today.

AN INQUIRING LETTER

SERGEI SKVORTSOV
Chairman of the board
of the Fund for social
initiatives
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ It seems to me that your weekly has up till now paid little attention to informal public organizations, which represent an aspect of the process of democratization in this country. If one is to judge from most publications in the West, the informal organizations are all hostile to socialism and act as forerunners of a political opposition. That is not so.

Of course, some of the numerous informal groups have taken an extremist stand diverging from the official point of view. However, the great majority of informal organizations support the process of restructuring and are pressing for "more socialism" rather than anything else. There are many Communists in such groups.

The emergence of unaffiliated public organizations was caused by a desire on the part of the people to contribute personally to restructuring and resolving pressing social problems rather than wait for directives. Regrettably, such a desire was not welcomed in the past. Nor is it always welcomed now. Some officials are overcautious and our organization has had a chance to experience that sort of attitude. When, for instance, a TV crew arrived to film elections to the work collective council at a Moscow factory, assisted by the Fund's public self-management laboratory, the management locked the lighting switchboard. Another example is the pitched battle fought by the inhabitants of the community of Protvino near Moscow for the conservation of a parkland area. The Fund is also involved here. The media have supported the campaign on several occasions, thousands of signatures have been collected, and architects and ecologists supported the plan advanced by the public, but the local authorities would not budge.

Times are changing, however. Restructuring is making progress, and we can feel it as we keep up our work. In another place near Moscow, Zelenograd, an entirely different attitude was shown towards public anxiety over the preservation of the environment. In response to an appeal by the informal group Rodnik to keep the river Skhodnya clean, residents organized a "work-for-the-nation" day, and among them on that day were members of the Party district committee and deputies of the local Soviet. Senior officials of the Sevastopol district of Moscow did a great deal to help the above-mentioned self-management laboratory.

Is it not of the essence of restructuring that public initiatives be fully supported along with self-management by party and government bodies? Is this not a guarantee that restructuring is an irreversible process?

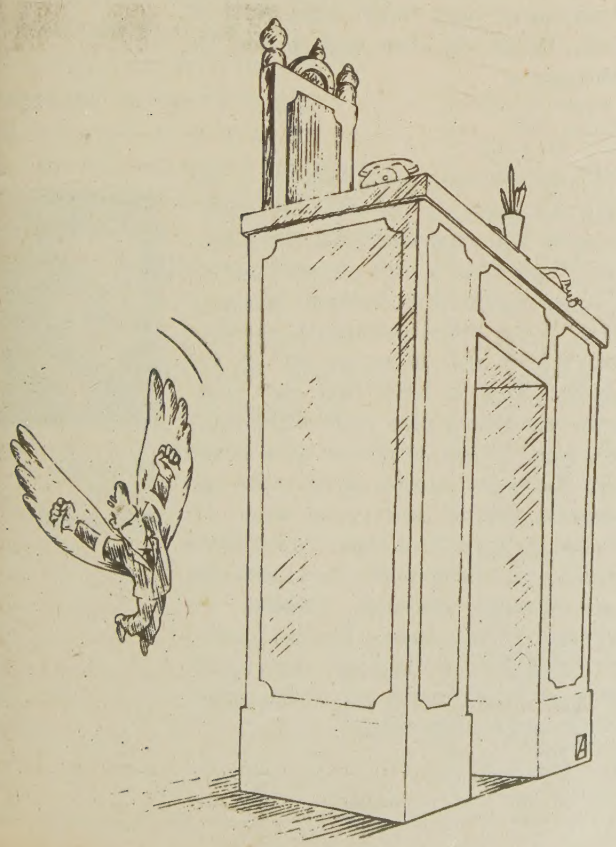
EVGENIYA SHENFELDT
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ I decided to write this letter after reading a passage in Sergey Golyakov's story "Taking the Tiger by the Tail" in New Times issue (No 12/88), where he describes a Sino-Japanese factory in China manufacturing disposable syringes, catheters and drips, without which, as he writes, no hospital or ambulance service can function. The factory was built in a record short time, and the author quotes the deputy director-general of the factory as follows: "Should the Soviet Union show interest in our goods, be sure to let us know."

It is no secret that supplies of disposable medical appliances are indispensable to deal with one of the problems facing our medical service. I am a member of the residential council of labour and war veterans in my neighbourhood and I am concerned with caring for the disabled. That is why I have direct experience of dealing with the problems caused by blunt reusable needless and inflammations, which increase the suffering of the sick. I am also aware that disposable instruments are necessary to prevent the spread of AIDS.

I would like to know when our hospitals will finally be fully stocked with all that they need. I would also like to know whether the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Medical Industry are aware of the possibility of organizing the production of these badly needed items in cooperation with China.

AN ARTIST'S VIEW

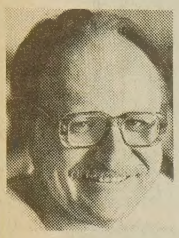


Icarus.
Drawing by A. Orekhov

GLASNOST
From our mailbag

PRIVATE OPINION

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK



VLADIMIR LAKSHIN First Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Znamya magazine

It has come as a surprise to many that this year several works of prose and poetry by celebrated authors, nominated for Lenin Prizes by prestigious organizations, have been awarded no such prizes. Neither has this distinction gone to any theatrical production. Just two works – a film and a building – have received Lenin Prizes, and deservedly so.

The Committee for Lenin and State Prizes has repeatedly come under fire recently on the grounds that it has been too "free" with the prizes, often "distributing" rather than awarding them, the recipients' only qualifications being past services, social status, position, etc. Until comparatively recently, the discussion of work nominated for the prizes was a mere formality. Lenin and State Prize winners kept growing in number, but our literature and art were none the better for it, to put it mildly.

What detracted from the prestige of the nation's top prize was also the fact that it had been awarded to journalists in Nikita Khrushchev's retinue for reports published in book form under the title "Face to Face with America," and to Leonid Brezhnev himself for three volumes of "memoirs" somebody else had written for him. Quite a number of other prize-winners were given the award out of time-serving considerations rather than on merit. And now, at last, Lenin's principle "better fewer but better" has been extended to the practice of awarding prizes, far too many of which were just handed out in the period of stagnation.

The Lenin prize awarded to film director Tenghiz Abuladze not only crowns the years of work he put into his trilogy, "A Prayer", "The Wishing Tree" and "Repentance", but it is also a prize to an artist whose work has become a major landmark in perestroika.

Abuladze conceived and made his "Repentance" – his powerful protest against Stalinist hypocrisy and terror – at a time when the film's chances of ever being released looked poor. He worked at his own peril, having obtained a modest commission from Georgian television and enlisting his relatives' and friends' free services as extras.

The film has a "secret" in it which I, for one, have been able to discern only after three viewings. All (or almost all) of the sound track is based on documentary recordings, reminiscences and accounts by the victims of repression. And what we see on the screen is a phantasmagoria, a kaleidoscope of hyperboles, metaphors, symbolic and even occasionally surrealistic episodes and scenes. This combination of almost documentary realism and daringly fantastical form imparted a strong emotional appeal and a surprising new dimension to the film.

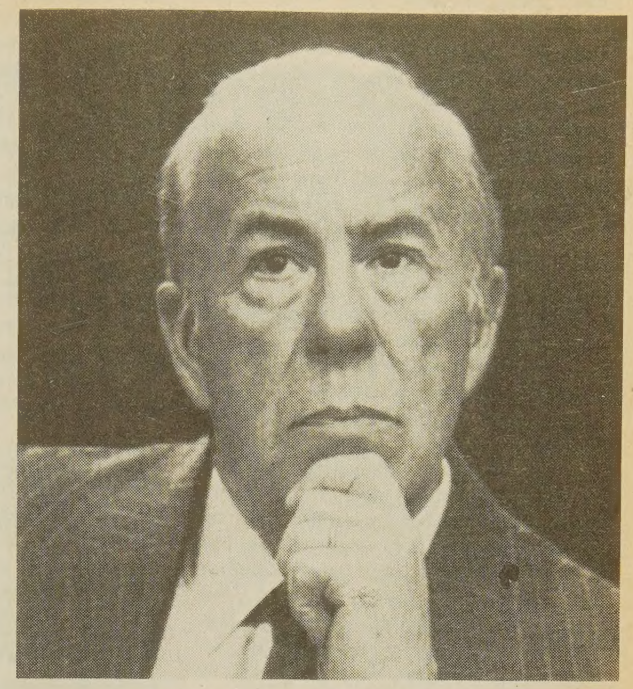
Abuladze wanted neither to stand out, nor to conform. Although patient by nature, he was not going to wait until the time for materializing his idea was right. After the concept of the film had taken final shape in his mind, making it became a matter of life and death for him. Abuladze is an example of an artist who makes no allowances for current fashions, tastes and preferences. He spoke in terms of his art without pandering to average audiences or trying to win applause at all costs. Those who have eyes to see, let them see.

Dr DAVID OWEN, British MP

Among the many developments of the past few weeks, to my mind the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan stands out prominently. You have pulled back. The most important thing for the Soviet Union now is not to hang around when things get difficult. The Afghans have to solve their own problems. For almost nine years Afghanistan has been a very emotional area in the controversy between the Soviet Union and Western powers. Now you've taken Afghanistan off the front page. It's important in terms of making it very much easier for the American President, whether it's Reagan or his successor, to carry forward the arms control dialogue. And what's more important, when they make agreements, make them stick.

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

A quarter of an hour with George Shultz



The U.S. Secretary of State is interviewed by New Times reporter Galina Sidorova

During his official stay in Moscow, George Shultz had, as usual, a tight schedule. Nevertheless, when his aide said the Secretary of State could spare me not more than 10 minutes for an interview, I ventured to ask for 15 minutes, and he kindly agreed to my request. But how—in a quarter of an hour—was I to learn more about George Shultz than we have written about him during the six years he has held his post, and see what kind of man this veteran politician, whose programme is known to readers, really is?

New Times. I would like first to talk with you about what usually remains behind the scenes and is not discussed at press conferences. You have great experience in diplomacy and business. For nearly six years you have been Secretary of State. What do you like and what you don't like in your work?

George Shultz. Of course, you like it when something gets accomplished that you have some part in. So there is a great deal of satisfaction in that. And particularly in this job, the issues you are dealing with tend to be of considerable significance, so when something comes along like the INF treaty, or as we see a gradual improvement in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States and I have a part to play in that, then you can't help but feel that the effort is worth it.

FROM THE CHRONICLE OF TALKS

At their meeting in Moscow on April 21 and 22, Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz agreed on a programme for the summit meeting in May.

The Secretary of State was received by Mikhail Gorbachev, who noted signs of a delay in the talks through Washington's fault and the adverse effect of President Reagan's recent speeches on the dialogue.

In the opinion of Soviet leaders, the agreements reached between the Soviet Union and the United States are a result of their objectively coinciding interests, and not of one-sided actions or position-of-strength policies on the part of either side.

The ministers discussed questions of security, humanitarian cooperation and human rights, regional problems and bilateral relations.

DISCREPANCY

Five main problems remain to be solved for the successful elaboration and conclusion of a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons: non-withdrawal from the ABM treaty within an agreed period; control over limits to be set on sea-launched cruise missiles; the procedure of counting cruise missiles on board heavy bombers; quantitative limits on mobile ICBM launchers and their warheads; the system of verification and control as a whole.

PROGRESS

The positions of both countries on nuclear explosions have drawn closer together. The Soviet and American delegations have been instructed to draft an appropriate protocol to the 1976 treaty on peaceful nuclear explosions, to be signed at the Moscow summit.

Bringing closer together the positions of both countries on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

A productive exchange of opinions on regional problems took place.

Both sides confirmed that they want the necessary documents to have been prepared by the time of President Reagan's arrival in Moscow.

On the other hand, sometimes things don't work out and you wrack your brains to see what can be done. We have our disappointments. To a certain extent, the things I like and dislike are the same. You work very hard. I've never worked so hard in my life. And I like that. On the other hand, you also get tired and I like to have a little recreation and time off. I asked one of the old-timers around the Department when would this pace stop and he said "when you leave office."

N.T. What do your family feel about your always being away?

G. Sh. Well, my wife comes with me when I travel and, of course, she has a special little deal going. She tells me that you understand a country better if you go into the marketplace and buy something. So, she is one of the world's great shoppers and it's a little hard on my pocketbook. But, anyway, she has a good thing going. We travel together and she enjoys getting around the world. All of our children are grown-up. We pay attention to the grandchildren and we like to see more of them to keep a close track.

N.T. Does Shultz the man always agree with Shultz the politician?

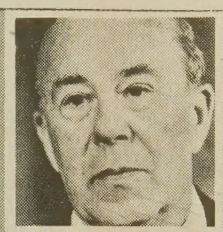
G.Sh. You don't agree with all of the decisions that get made, but you are part of an administration. I have a chance to argue from my point of view and it's up to the President to make his decisions. I think his decisions are basically good ones, and so I agree with them. I've even had the case where he made a decision against my advice, and on reflection I have to say that he was right. Of course, if you find yourself in a general atmosphere that is producing lines of policy which you don't agree with, then it's time to leave the job and let somebody else do it. I'm sure that some of the former Presidents would never have invited me to be Secretary of State, but if they had, I wouldn't have agreed. But President Reagan I have known well for a long time and I share his basic philosophies.

N.T. This is probably the reason why you have been in the post of Secretary of State for so long. Or perhaps this is explained by your character? How have you managed to survive other colleagues in the administration? They have left their posts. You are an old-timer, not counting the President, of course.

G.Sh. Basically, because I do fundamentally agree with the President, and he has confidence in me, so I go and do things and he supports what I do. So it is an easy working relationship. I see him frequently—the two of us sitting alone, or with only one or two people around. But in this kind of politics you have to have what we call a thick hide, because there is lots of criticism. So I accept it. I have only a few more months to go, so I guess I can stand it.

N.T. You have been to Moscow many times, more frequently than any other Secretary of State in U.S. history. You have met with Soviet leaders and experts. Do you feel that you understand our country better now than when you started?

G.Sh. Yes. Although you don't really get to know a country by just visiting the capital. I'm forever saying to people coming to Washington, including Soviet leaders: don't judge the United States by Washington. It is a unique city. You should get out into the country in order to understand it, to go to the Middle West, California, the South. My country has great variety. I have said to myself: visiting Moscow and meeting here basically the same people you see in Washington is, of course, interesting, and they are the key political figures, from the standpoint of my work. But I should understand your country better. So, I have taken some extra time on this trip. Tomorrow I am going to Kiev and then to Tbilisi. When I was here back in the 1970s, I went to Sochi and Leningrad. So I don't claim to have been all around your country, but I'm trying to get out and see different places and meet people whose roles are different, whose occupations are different, and whose preoccupations are different.



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

George Pratt Shultz, born in New York on December 13, 1920. Graduated from Princeton University with a Ph.D. in industrial economics.

During the second world war he served in reserve units of the U.S. Marines, and later taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Chicago.

In 1955-1957—a senior staff economist in the Council of Economic Advisers to President Eisenhower, a consultant on labour relations in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Under the Nixon presidency, George Shultz was Secretary of Labour in 1969-1970, director of the White House Office of Management and Budget in 1970-1972, and Secretary of the Treasury in 1972-1974. He was an assistant to President Nixon on economic affairs and chief coordinator of U.S. trade, economic and financial policies.

In April 1974, George Shultz became vice-president of the Bechtel Corp., a civil engineering company in California, and from 1975 to 1982 was president of the company.

One of Ronald Reagan's chief advisers during the 1980 presidential campaign. Headed a group of economic consultants to the President and was on the Economic Policy Advisory Board, a provisional body set up during the transitional period to work out recommendations for the newly elected President.

Secretary of State since June 1982.

George Shultz has written several books and articles on the U.S. economy and labour relations.

His favourite pastimes are reading, playing tennis and golf, swimming.

N.T. Do you think it was easier to deal with the Soviet Union when both sides preferred to say "no" to each other and left the negotiating table, or now when you spend a lot of energy on finding common ground and bringing the positions closer together?

G.Sh. Formerly, it was easier only in the sense that there wasn't much interaction on the diplomatic side. Our two countries are so large and important that we have to have a relationship of some kind. The real question is whether we can handle this relationship to make it more stable, more predictable, more constructive and more understandable to both sides. We must solve problems, not just create them. And, of course, there's more work involved when you do that, but that's what we came for.

N.T. Do you like dealing with Shevardnadze and Gorbachev? Are they good partners in negotiations?

G.Sh. They're tough, but they're direct and I'm direct, so they are very satisfactory as far as people to deal with. But don't kid yourself, they're tough. Just because they smile doesn't mean they aren't very strong representatives of the Soviet Union. But I like to think that I'm smart too, but I'm also a strong representative of the United States of America.

N.T. What about mutual understanding? Do you understand each other?

G.Sh. Probably we have a better understanding today than we had two or three years ago. There has been a lot of change in the Soviet Union over this time, and it has reflected in the relations between our countries. We have come to know each other better in the process of working on difficult and tense problems. We have confidence that we can work problems out and tackle new ones.

N.T. President Reagan has mentioned the possibility of holding a fifth summit before he leaves office to sign a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, if it is not drawn up for the Moscow summit in

May. In the course of this visit you have expressed optimism that the text of the treaty will be finalized. At the same time, a State Department spokesman said at a briefing that 1,200 brackets remain in the four documents related to the treaty. Can these brackets be opened by the Moscow summit? And, if that is not possible, will a fifth summit take place?

G.Sh. We will continue to work at completing the 50 per cent reduction treaty. We'll have another ministerial meeting in May before the Moscow summit. If it is completed by then, of course, that would be good. I think both sides recognize that we're dealing with issues that are new and difficult, so we are creating new things, we're breaking new ground all the time and we're talking about subjects that are of immense importance. That means that you should proceed with care, as well as with urgency and determination, so we're doing that. Of course, if it turns out that we can't complete it in time for the Moscow summit, we are going to record the very great amount of progress that's been made and we will want to continue on because nobody wants to waste that progress. I'm sure that there will be a 50 per cent reduction treaty.

N.T. Under the present administration?

G.Sh. Well, I don't know. I don't want to make a prediction. But we shall work hard on the treaty. The basic idea of this treaty has very broad support in the United States. It is also broadly supported that we want to sign a good treaty, and not just a treaty. The basic thrust of what the President is doing is supported by both parties. Thanks to bipartisan support, I think, the process will continue.

N.T. Can the Soviet Union and the United States really cooperate in fields where they mainly opposed each other in the past, in the settlement of regional conflicts, for instance?

G.Sh. It's hard. But in the last two years we have had many conversations on regional problems. We have had the experience of joining in signing the accords on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. It is a very important regional problem that was at the centre of attention for a long time, and, I think, it is on its way to being resolved. The sense of reality in American-Soviet talks on regional problems is much better now than it was at first.

...State Department spokesman Charles Redman tapped his watch for the second time with an air of finality. The fifteen minutes had flown by more quickly than I would have liked. I thanked Mr Shultz for the conversation and expressed the hope of meeting him as well as the President, of course, in Moscow at the end of May. ■

AFGHANISTAN

After Geneva

"What do you think of the Geneva package of accords on a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan?" New Times put this question to

Maharajakrishna RASGOTRA, Director of the Institute for Southern Asia Pacific Studies in Delhi.

One can only welcome the accords signed in Geneva which the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to guarantee. The accords concern the pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. However, it should be borne in mind that the Soviet Union itself unilaterally took the relevant political decision still earlier, Mikhail Gorbachev announced it on last February 8. As I see it, it was a truly historic military-political decision, graphically demonstrating the Soviet Union's new approach to foreign policy issues. It paved the way for the signing of the Geneva accords.

The government and people of India heartily approve of the Geneva accords. That this is so was noted by the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and in our press. Although I must say that India is somewhat anxious that having had its hands freed on the border with Afghanistan, Pakistan may be in a position to move some of its troops to the troublesome border with India.

Still, I have no doubt that Geneva will have a generally beneficial impact on the whole vast South Asian region, which includes Afghanistan too. Even so, the significance of the accords goes far beyond the confines of the region. It is my conviction that without a substantial improvement in Soviet-American relations of the kind witnessed recently, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan would have been out of the question. That is one side of the question. The other is that the accords themselves serve to promote better relations between the two great powers, especially when one realizes that their signing and the beginning of the Soviet troop pullout dovetail with immediate preparations for a new Soviet-American summit, this time in Moscow. Meanwhile, the Afghan crisis has been one of the stumbling blocks in relations not only between the Soviet Union and the United States, but between East and West generally.

It would only be logical to surmise that reaching accords on Afghanistan, however long and uphill a job it was, could provide an example of a political settlement for other conflicts, more specifically in Kampuchea, Nicaragua, Angola and elsewhere. The events in Afghanistan have once again demonstrated that foreign military interference will only exacerbate, not serve to resolve, the conflict in a given country. A rapid Soviet troop pullout from Afghanistan in line with the Geneva accords will enable the Afghans to tackle their domestic issues directly themselves. I hope that those who back the Afghan opposition in word and deed, especially the U.S., Pakistan, China, and of course the mujaheddin themselves, will also construe the Geneva accords in this vein.

It is to be regretted that not everything is proceeding as desired and as it was initially supposed it would. To begin with, the U.S. insists on its right to continue to provide the Afghan anti-government grouping with military aid. This places a question mark over the deadrock principle of the Afghan-Pakistani agreement on no external interference in Afghan affairs. To justify its stand, Washington alleges that the Soviet Union supposedly intends to go on helping the government of Afghanistan. However, that argument clearly holds no water. Whatever one may think of the government of Afghanistan, it is the country's legitimate government, and even the U.N. Charter provides for giving external assistance to the legitimate authorities of a given country. Meanwhile, the mujaheddin are rebels opposing the government with armed force. To assign equal standing to assistance to both, as the U.S. is doing, is wrong. One can only hope that as far as this problematic issue is concerned, the parties will display wisdom and restraint.

What is also casting a shadow over the situation is the fact that the main Afghan anti-government groupings stationed in Pakistan have announced that they disagree with the Geneva accords and have every intention of proceeding with their armed struggle. They are in actual fact doing that. They have demonstrated against the Geneva agreements in Delhi. True, it was a pitifully small demonstration. Going by

what the mujaheddin say, they would like to have their own government in Kabul instead of the present one. Pakistan supports them on this point, although its leaders have praised the Geneva accords. However, the mujaheddin have no right whatever to speak for the entire Afghan nation: after all, they represent only part of it. A political dialogue between the current Kabul regime and representatives of the opposition groupings offers the sole realistic way towards a domestic settlement. All the countries that have signed the Geneva documents, and not they alone, must work for such a dialogue. Otherwise the outbreak of civil war in Afghanistan cannot be avoided. I think that the government of India, which played a definite constructive role in drafting the Geneva package, can put in a word here.

In conclusion I would like to say that India has a sincere stake in the earliest end to the Afghan conflict. We have traditional friendly relations with Afghanistan: we have much in common from the angle of history and tradition. We have just signed new agreements on cooperation with the Afghan government. We wholeheartedly wish to see Afghanistan a sovereign, peaceful, nonaligned state. India has every intention of continuing to dedicate its efforts to that end.

I, personally, would not rule out the return to Kabul of Afghanistan's ex-King Zahir Shah, who could head a future national unity government. We had contacts with him in Rome on that score. India, which, for all our differences, is in constant contact with Pakistan, could, let me repeat, continue to play a constructive role in the new situation by calling on Pakistan to be sensible and prudent. Any continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan which may, as I have already observed, become a civil war after the Soviet troop pullout, could endanger Pakistan itself and the entire South Asian region for that matter. On the other hand, the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan accords with the interests of all. It would represent a move towards the establishment of a system of security in Asia. ●

INDIA

The Punjab wall

● THE SITUATION IN INDIA'S NORTHWESTERN STATE OF PUNJAB HAS DRASTICALLY DETERIORATED.

Indian newspapers nowadays are full of photographs of the thick coils of barbed wire being put up by soldiers along the Indo-Pakistani border in both Punjab and the neighbouring states of Jammu and Kashmir and Rajasthan. The wire will be electrified and this "wall," as newspapers have called the barbed wire entanglement, will extend for 455 km.

This is one of the measures envisaged in the plan for reinforcing the border with Pakistan, which the Indian government recently approved with the consent of the local authorities in Punjab. It has also been decided to institute new border posts to halve the distance from 40km to 20km and to institute a heavily patrolled 500-metre-wide "safety belt" along the border. Further, new police zones are being created in regions directly contiguous to the border. An additional 3,000 servicemen are to augment the border guards.

All this has been undertaken in view of increased terrorist infiltration into Indian territory from Pakistan. In a number of statements, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Home Minister Buta Singh have directly accused Pakistan of interfering in India's internal affairs to subvert its unity. The Indian authorities are aware that Punjabi Sikh terrorists are being trained at many special camps within Pakistan and being provided with money and weapons by the authorities there. Arms are smuggled into Punjab across the border, with Pakistani soldiers allowing the gun runners to get through. Not infrequently they provide fire cover for extremists who run into Indian borderguards.

The discovery over the past three weeks of eight clandestine arms caches in Punjab has graphically shown that Pakistan is supplying arms to the Punjabi extremists who want to establish the Sikh "state of Khalistan." I have seen some of the weapons unearthed: they include Chinese-made AK-47 submachine guns, American carabines and submachine guns, rocket launchers and rockets explosives and detonators. Indian counterintelligence officers say that Sikh terrorists have also received American Stinger missiles.

Punjabi extremists have become increasingly active since last November. The death toll is mounting, especially among the peaceful population. The terrorists ruthlessly murder not only Hinduists, but also their Sikh co-religionists. In the past five and a half months they have slaughtered more than 600 people, including women and children. The deaths of 35 policemen in gun battles have been reported. More than half the victims were killed in the border district of Amritsar. Sikhs revere the city of Amritsar as their "sacred capital." To further their aims, the terrorists are exploiting Amritsar's Golden Temple which, according to Sikh beliefs, no armed people are permitted to enter. Nevertheless, the extremists brazenly violate the ban, and this has angered the entire ten-million-strong Sikh population of Punjab. It has now been decided to throw a "safety ring" around the Golden Temple to prevent the terrorists from using it as a refuge.

Punjab's administration has undergone a substantial reshuffle. Presidential rule, directly exercised by the governor, was introduced in the state in May 1987. Julio Ribeiro, the Punjab police superintendent who personally contributed much to the anti-terrorists campaign in the state, has transferred powers to his deputy K.P.S. Gillu in order to assume the duties of adviser to the governor with responsibility for several major departments including that of internal affairs.

Punjabi police are now showing greater determination and results in their anti-separatist operations. Of late 30 locally named "diehard" terrorists, notorious for their ruthlessness, have been killed in gun battles.

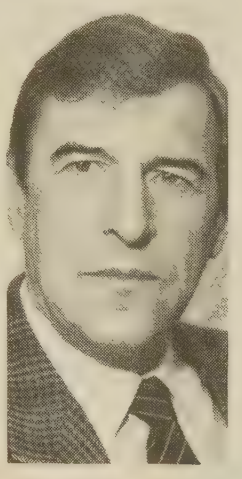
The authorities in Pakistan, who use the terrorists as pawns in their dangerous game against India, are largely to blame for the deteriorating situation in Punjab.

NIKOLAI PAKLIN
Delhi

Grieving for near ones murdered by Punjabi terrorists.
AP—TASS photo

Irresponsibility tabooed

SERGEI GOLYAKOV



GENEVA AGREEMENTS CALL FOR REALISM

In the spring of 1980, when I transmitted a dispatch from Kabul, an editorial shorthand typist in Moscow complained: "The line is bad. A terrible noise is coming from your side. Can you make it less loud?"

Unfortunately, I could not do anything. A column of Soviet tanks was rumbling past my hotel. The girl on the other end of the line was hearing, unawares, the echo of a distant war.

Only now, after eight agonizing years of putting an end to that war has an opportunity appeared. Such a prospect has been opened in Geneva. The package of agreements signed there has raised hopes for long-awaited peace and tranquility in Afghanistan. The Afghans can now build their life as they wish, without outside interference, on the principles of national reconciliation and the unity of all patriotic forces.

The world has awaited this news for a long time. The undeclared war dragged on for many years. We counted every day and hour of it, remembering that every minute one of our sons could be killed there. Now, in less than a month, they will begin to return home.

The commitments undertaken by Kabul and Islamabad under the Geneva agreements block the way to any interference in Afghan affairs. The Soviet Union helped Afghanistan in its hour of need. Now that real guarantees of non-interference have been adopted, the Soviet troops will leave the country. The withdrawal is to start on May 15, and the deadline has been announced.

Many politicians believed until recently that Moscow would never agree to the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. Such views continued to exist after the 27th Party Congress, at which the question of troop pullout was raised in practical terms. Doubts even persisted after positive changes, resulting in the conclusion of the INF treaty, had been brought about in Soviet-American relations. The traditional Western view of Soviet foreign policy denied it the ability to draw lessons from situations such as the Afghan conflict.

The Afghan problem has become solvable thanks to new political thinking, the desire to settle vexed international issues solely by political means. When this need was understood by all parties to the Geneva talks they were able to reach agreement. "Mikhail Gorbachev has successfully passed one more examination in confidence," the Swiss newspaper Basler Zeitung writes. "Over the past ten years the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has been regarded as the chief obstacle to an improvement in relations between the great powers and the further promotion of détente. This obstacle will be removed in the next few months."

I think this conclusion could be developed. The consent of Moscow and Washington to act as guarantors to the Geneva agreements can be interpreted as a triumph of multilateral efforts in tackling the Afghan problem, as a new and important shift in Soviet-American relations. Divided on the issue by deep contradictions, and without forgoing their national interests, they have nevertheless managed to find the necessary balance.

It is especially important to preserve this balance now, after the Geneva agreements have been concluded. Responsible and all-round assistance in the full and honest observance of these accords is the common duty of all interested parties.

It would not be necessary to mention this fundamental duty if there were not a special need to do so. But such a need unfortunately exists. Neither the external nor internal forces tormenting Afghanistan have laid down their arms, mainly because they still hope, not without reason, to receive aid from those who are interpreting the Geneva agreements in their own way.

According to the New York Times, U.S. military aid to the Afghan opposition forces has come to over two billion dollars in the past eight years, and possibly even more, because, as the newspaper notes, the exact sum is kept secret. Nevertheless, immediately after the conclusion of the Geneva agreements, the United States declared that it would continue to deliver arms to the Peshawar Seven. Is that compatible with the guarantees Washington gave in Geneva? And what about Pakistan's commitment to refrain from meddling in Afghan affairs if U.S. arms again flow through its territory? Disturbing but far from groundless questions.

When domestic problems in any country become particularly complex only the people itself can untie the knot. Outside interference in these efforts will do no good. Such interference is doomed to failure, whatever power undertakes it. Moscow understands this truth, while Washington does not. Judging from Reagan's latest statements, Washington still advocates the President's notorious doctrine allowing the United States to deal with governments and regimes objectionable to it through the agency of armed "freedom fighters." It continues to prefer the policy of strength to the strength of policy.

But the time of great-power ambitions has passed. An internal settlement in Afghanistan is the concern of its people alone. The Geneva agreements have cleared the way to building an independent, non-aligned, neutral Afghanistan. It will be very dangerous if one or another party is tempted to act contrary to this prospect.

The tit-for-tat policy has no future

Local wars begin like a hurricane and suck the belligerents into them like a bog

Following the course of local wars that gradually assume an international character, one involuntarily concludes that one of the consequences of the present global parity of forces is "a balance of impotence" in regional conflicts. None of the belligerents is able to achieve convincing superiority, let alone victory. Wars become increasingly protracted, at one moment like a slough and in the next like a tornado. For proof of this one has only to look at the dangerous situation in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has lasted over 40 years and the Iran-Iraq war for more than seven years, and so far there seems to be no end to either. Typhoons move unpredictably on the land, on the sea and in the atmosphere, assuming the most inconceivable, monstrous forms — from terror and the "rock war" to missile attacks and the mine and tanker war.

In the Iran-Iraq war, the longest since the second world war, the belligerents have already used all the means and forces avaiable: tank attacks and air raids, "human waves" in the battlefield and assaults by juveniles who make paths through minefields with their bodies.

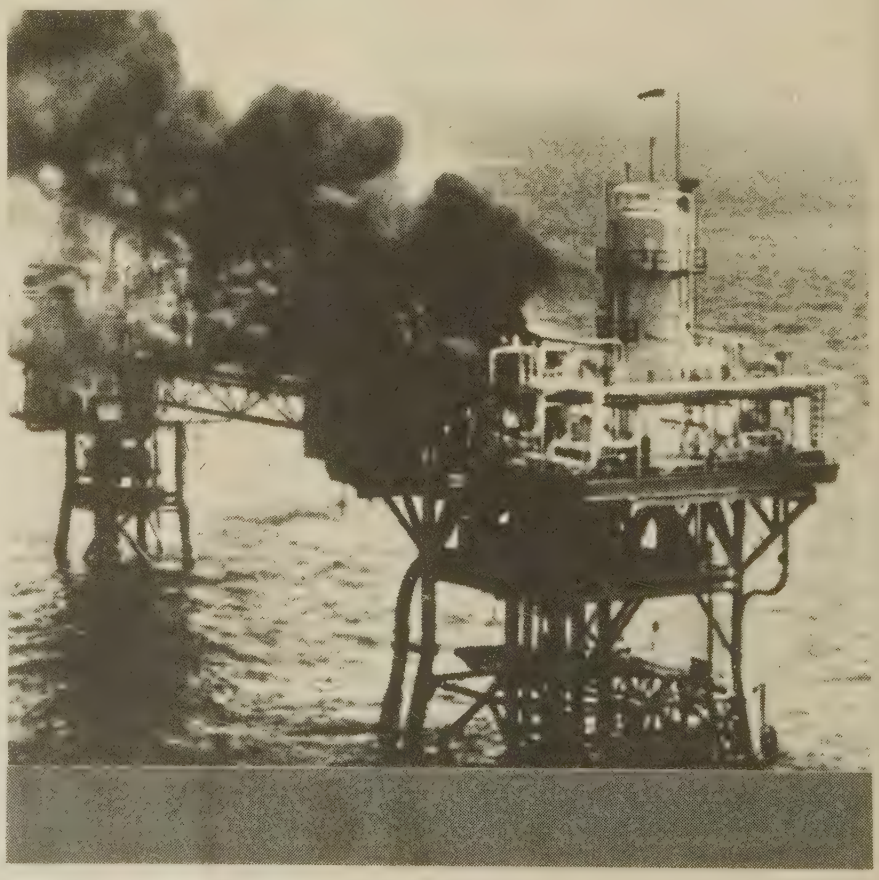
The escalation of violence is accompanied by the escalation of im-. morality. For the first time since the first world war, toxic agents have been used against the population. I would not entirely exclude the nuclear factor either. Thank God, the belligerents do not yet have nuclear weapons. However, they are in the arsenal of the "firemen." The multinational forces of the United States and its NATO allies, now concentrated in the Persian Gulf region, are equipped with modern weapons, nuclear included. Under the pretext of protecting freedom of navigation, Washington has sent about 30 ships to the area. Among them is the aircraft carrier Enterprise. But the massing of naval vessels has merely increased tension, while the freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf has been further jeopardized.

Tension reached its highest point in mid-April, when the U.S.S. Samuel B. Roberts hit a mine. Predictably, Washington took retaliatory action. The United States effectively became involved in combat operations. "The worst day of violence" has brought it to the last line of risk beyond which, as American newspapers say, begins a full scale war.

Two Iranian oil platforms were destroyed, six Iranian vessels sunk, and one fighter-bomber was damaged as a result of the blow delivered on the president's order. Iran retaliated by striking a U.S.-operated oil platform, U.S. naval vessels and planes, a British tanker, and several more foreign merchant ships.

In the opinion of experts, contact mines hitting ships in the Persian Gulf are obsolete weapons of the time of the first world war. These mines, not yet removed from the arsenals of states, are dangerous indeed. But even more dangerous is the "logic of revenge", tit for tat. Such a policy has led to two world wars. President Reagan warned that Iran would pay a price for its "irresponsible behaviour," and the Iranians should have no illusions in this respect. However, the illusion that tension in the Gulf can be reduced by a greater NATO military presence there may have more disastrous results.

Not only the U.S.'s allies but some



Iranian oil platform blasted by U.S. warships.

administration officials are voicing anxiety over latest developments in the Persian Gulf, believing that Washington has embarked on "a dangerous path." The doctrine of the mailed fist is unlikely to bring about a settlement of regional conflicts.

It is, of course, immoral to stir up conflicts and unleash wars in the hope of winning an easy victory, by taking advantage of the difficulties experienced by one or other country. But to add fuel to the flames of war in the hope of deriving somewhat dubious benefits is even more immoral.

The interconnection and interdependence of the present-day world are strikingly manifested in the chain reaction of violence both vertically and horizontally, that is, in the intensification and extension of conflicts. Citing the principle of communicating vessels as proof, we can say that the spiral of military confrontation in the Persian Gulf is increasing tension in the adjacent regions as well. How could any results have been expected of Shultz's "peacemaking" tours in the Middle East if they were accompanied by increased U.S. military activity in the adjacent Gulf area?

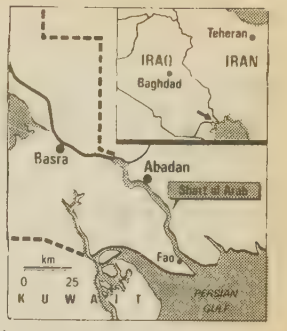
The new American plan for a Middle East settlement has proved ineffective because it has run up against not only "the reefs of the impulsive policy" of Israel and the Arab states, but also the reefs of Washington's irresponsible and dangerous actions in the Persian Gulf and adjoining areas.

The south coast was once known as the pirate's coast. But even then piracy could not be put an end to by brigandage. Disasters caused by war must be brought under control. But how? As distinct from natural disasters, they stem from the ill will of man. Therefore, as long as man can act according to his conscience, he can put an end to war. History has amended the classic definition of war. More often than not, it is a continuation of immoral policy. Hence it is necessary to change policy in order to put a stop to wars.

LEONID MEDVEDKO

AP—TASS photo

Operation Ramadan



On April 18 thousands of tracer bullets lit up the night sky over Baghdad. That was how Iraq celebrated the victory of its troops on the Fao peninsula.

Port Fao is Iraq's southernmost tip, where the river Shatt-al-Arab flows into the Persian Gulf. In February 1986, Iran mounted a surprise attack, capturing Fao and the adjacent regions—over 300 square kilometres of Iraq's territory altogether. It was the Iranian army's biggest success, and Iraq's worst defeat, over seven and a half of the Gulf war. Now, two years later, Iraq has retaken Fao.

On April 19, an Iraqi Major General conducted a press conference at a frontline command post.

"The plan of Operation Blessed Ramadan to liberate Fao was worked out long ago," he said. "Fao and the areas adjoining it, occupied by four divisions of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution (some 18,000 strong, at our estimate), were freed in 34 hours, with 700 Iranians taken prisoner..."

The former Iranian positions, reduced to heaps of concrete and scrap metal, were full of bulldozers and scrapers clearing away mutilated guns, shell cases and the charred remains of tanks and armoured personnel carriers.

An enormous pillar of black smoke towered above everything else—an oil storage was on fire. Before the war most Iraqi oil deliveries were shipped through Fao.

A Farsi inscription on a plywood board at the entrance to the city read: "The town of Fatuma. Subordinated directly to the municipality of Teheran."

Less than ten buildings within the city limits remained intact. The walls, pockmarked with shell fragments, bore posters showing Ayatollah Khomeini and slogans: "Neither East, nor West. The Islamic Republic!" "Saddam (President Saddam Hussain of Iraq. — **E.M.**) must go," "Fao today, Basra and Baghdad tomorrow."

Iranian soldiers had obviously been in a hurry to leave the city. The streets were cluttered with abandoned weapons, trucks and boxes of ammunition.

We walked into the courtyard of the city mosque. The stone floor was strewn with copies of the Koran in Persian. In one room boxes of food were stacked next to cartons of other supplies.

"After the Iranians captured Fao in 1986," our guide reminded us, "Rafsanjani, Chairman of the Majlis, said he would negotiate with Iraq if we succeeded in retaking Fao."

Many observers agree that the liberation of the Fao peninsula by Iraqi troops has changed the Iran-Iraq war situation. Now, after seven and a half years of hostilities, everything at the fronts has "clicked back in place," with the Iranians holding onto only a few dozen square kilometres of Iraqi territory in the northeast. All things considered, Iraq's superiority in combat equipment and its well-fortified defences throughout the frontline make Iran's chances of new successful attacks appear poor.

In a communiqué published by Iraq's supreme military command after the Fao victory, Baghdad again called upon the Iranian leadership to comply with Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council, which demands to put an end to all hostilities.

Within two days of liberating Fao, Iraq announced that it was stopping missile attacks on Iranian cities and would not resume them if the Iranians, for their part, ceased striking at cities in Iraq.

EVGENY MIKITENKO,
APN own correspondent in Iraq,
exclusive for New Times

Fao-Baghdad

In another important stage in the U.S. presidential race – the New York state primaries – George Bush won for the Republicans, and Michael Dukakis for the Democrats. On the results of the primaries held so far, Vice-President Bush is far ahead of his Republican rivals. The Massachusetts governor, Michael Dukakis, has a strong rival in Jesse Jackson, the man who has overturned all the canons of American politics.

Encroaching on traditions

"Jesse Jackson? You can't be serious." I remember a conversation with American colleagues from the state of Connecticut last summer. First, I was told, he has never held elective office in the political hierarchy; second, he has no means of his own, no adequate financial backing from businessmen or political action committees and, third, he is a black. In other words, I was told, Jackson lacked the main qualities that would make him a successful presidential pretender, in addition of course, to the qualities that are inscribed in the U.S. Constitution. However, in the year that followed Jackson has managed to overcome the condescending attitude on the part of his fellow Democrats, his rivals, and the media to become a real claimant to leadership of the Democrats. For the first time in its history, the United States has found itself reflecting on the possibility of living under a black president.

From football to theology

Forty-six years ago a high school student in Greenville, South Carolina, gave birth to a boy. She named him Jesse. The circumstances of his birth meant that since early childhood he had to get used to being taunted as illegitimate. Jesse bore the taunts courageously, and his character acquired such traits as the ability to swim against the tide, ambition, independence and perseverance. Before long, he acquired a stepfather, a postal worker. The family was not poor nor was it particularly well off. Jesse tried to make good at school. He gained recognition by being a wizard on the football pitch. His athletic record earned him a scholarship to the University of Illinois. It was there that he first felt in full force the humiliation of racial discrimination, both on the football team and in the college's fraternity

life. That was too much for him. He transferred to predominantly black North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University. Upon graduating, he enrolled at the Chicago Theological Seminary to become a Baptist minister.

Jesse is old enough to have experienced segregation on buses and in restaurants, and every other kind of racism. He grew up to divide the world into black and white. Young and militant, Jesse became close to Martin Luther King. He was with King at the hotel in Memphis when the fateful shot was fired. Jackson claims that America's Great Citizen died in his arms. Some of King's associates have challenged that statement as well as Jesse's claim to being King's "chief heir" and favourite pupil. One thing is certain: Jesse was never a docile pupil. He argued with his teacher and often disagreed with him. The important thing is that in the process he imbibed King's basic ideas of freedom, humanism and the harmony of the spirit, many of which did not sink in at once. Now, twenty years later, he is better at implementing these ideas than others.

Jesse Jackson started his public career as "mayor" of the tent encampment pitched on Washington Mall, a spreading lawn between the White House and Congress, during the 1968 Poor People's Campaign. In the "quiet seventies," when the civil rights movement was at a low ebb, he honed up his preaching skills and became a founder and executive director of an organization called Operation Push (People United to Save Humanity). Then came the year 1983. Almost 20 years after the civil rights and electoral legislation abolishing discrimination against the registration of black electors was passed, 50 black mayors, Congressmen and civil rights activists, an informal group calling themselves "The family of black leaders," decided to put up a black candidate for the 1984 presidential elections. To all intents and purposes, Jackson offered his own candidature.

It was the third such attempt in the history of the country.

The first black American whose nomination for president was considered by the leading party was abolitionist G.B. Frederick Douglas. That was exactly a hundred years ago, and he received one consolation vote at the Republican convention. In 1972, Shirley Chisholm, a Congresswoman from New York, won 28 Democratic votes in 14 primaries. In April 1988, with the primaries still in progress, Jesse Jackson commands the votes of over 800 delegates.

No lonely hero

To go back to the 1984 campaign. At that time the man who challenged the tradition was like a lone hero hacking his way through the jungle of American political life. Many respectable black politicians at local level withheld their support for the man they considered an "outsider" and an upstart. According to Adolph Reed, author of the book "The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon," who

studied the local political organizations of black Americans, the 1984 campaign damaged the black community by revealing tensions within it. Jackson spoke on behalf and in the interests of the black poor, who had had a particularly raw deal during President Reagan's first term in office. Jackson created a "Rainbow coalition" which was officially open to people of all races, but was in fact dominated by blacks. It was a campaign of blacks designed to launch their claim to a role in American society, to draw attention to their problems, and at the same time, to involve the disenchanted in the political process. Indeed, Jackson managed to bring more black Americans to the polls than anyone before him.

Jackson still remains one of the leaders of black America which accounts for 12 per cent of the U.S. population. While in the sixties only 13 per cent of blacks belonged to the middle class, today a third of black families have an annual income of 25,000-50,000 dollars a year, a decent income by American standards. However, black Americans are still more likely to be out of work than their white counterparts, and in some occupations they get lower pay. The percentage of people with higher and secondary education among blacks is lower, and the crime rate and the percentage of people living below the poverty line is higher.

Jackson learned many lessons from 1984. The civil rights movement of the sixties made him a champion of the most deprived and downtrodden sections of the American nation. He emerged from the 1984 campaign as a politician with a broader outlook on the problems of the black population, the country as a whole and its place in the international community.

"The new Jackson" dates from 1987, when he launched a crusade for the votes of white America. Today he is popular among white workers, farmers, members of the middle class and even among some white "limousine liberals," as the press has dubbed some of his rich supporters. It is no coincidence that most of Jesse's key aides are white. According to Jackson, their presence will show the nation that his coalition is broadening and that he intends to speak on behalf of the entire American nation, like any other candidate. Jackson undoubtedly possesses a power of persuasion. Donations to his campaign have increased in recent months. In Iowa and New Hampshire, where blacks are less than 2 per cent of the population, Jackson got about 10 per cent of the vote, and in Minnesota, with only a 1.3 per cent black population, he won almost 20 per cent of the vote.

Jackson probably has a more coherent programme than that of any other Democratic contender. He proposes to cut the Federal budget deficit by raising corporate taxes to 35 per cent (compared to 33 per cent today) and taxes on high incomes to 38 per cent (against 28 per cent today). He has come up with a plan for investment in America, which would cut the trade deficit by restricting imports and punishing those transnational corporations that move their enterprises to the developing countries. Jackson promises to cut the military budget by 20 billion dollars, stop programmes to develop the MX and Midgetman missiles and Trident submarines, and limit the growth of the Navy. Jackson's foreign policy platform includes three main planks: respect for international law, human rights and economic development. He believes that with the U.S. maintaining increasingly stable relations with the Soviet Union, the "time bomb" threatening American security is the Third World. Jackson believes that the most likely nuclear attack on the United States would come from some Third World dictator gone berserk. He favours the ratification of the Soviet-American INF treaty and the disbanding of the SDI organization, with continued research in the field of strategic defence. He wants to cut off aid to the Nicaraguan contras. On the Middle East, Jackson says, the solution should involve mutual security for Israel and justice for Palestinians. He takes a strong stand on South Africa: the United States should get rid of the paranoid fear of the alleged threat Communism brings to Southern Africa and should help the indigenous South Africans. Jackson proposes a summit meeting of Southern African leaders and a coordination council for the development of the countries in the region.

Jackson's public activity tends to obscure his personal qualities. Some American journalists write with some glee that for as long as people did not take Jackson seriously it did not occur to anyone to delve into his private life, as had been the case with other Democratic contenders. Some newsmen are already set on digging up some "juicy" aspects of Jackson's private life. But this is the fate of every American politician.

I have heard from my friends that Jesse is a superb and witty speaker. Wit is an important asset in the American presidential race. Jesse can get across to an audience and involve it in a discussion. He lives in a modest house in a predominantly black middle-class neighbourhood of Chicago. Jacqueline Jackson has already learned the discomforts of being the wife of a presidential hopeful.

White and black

In analyzing the "Jackson phenomenon," the chief question that is bound to come up is: is America ready to accept a black president? I remember that when I first went to the United States I was struck by Americans' intolerance of dissenting opinions. It seemed odd in a country where everyone tries to express his personal opinion on everything. The intolerance was not external but deeply ingrained and often unconscious. It was prompted by a sense of superiority. The roots of the condescending attitude to other nations go back, I believe, to the times of slavery, to which the Civil War put an end a little over a hundred years ago.

America is still divided into White and Black. The descendants of the former slaves have not forgiven their former masters. The descendants of the former masters are aware of it. The mutual animosity cannot be overcome by bridging the gap in living standards between blacks and whites, nor by the civil rights gains of the sixties, nor by the new opportunities for black Americans to move up the social ladder, nor equal access to education. Of course, all this looks rather more impressive on paper than in real life. A hundred years is probably not enough to change the mentality of a nation, as the American example seems to prove. According to statistics, two years ago only 0.5 per cent of the 51.7 million marriages were mixed. American cities are divided into neighbourhoods. White citizens in St. Louis invariably complain of a troublesome black neighbourhood next door. White New Yorkers are bent on complaining that the blacks are "driving them out" into the suburbs. Frankly, I felt very uncomfortable under the gazes of several smokers standing in the doorway of their house in Harlem. I was aware of a hatred that came from the depths of the subconscious.

This suggests another question: is Jesse Jackson ready to overcome a subconscious sense of bitterness for the evil caused by White America? Judging by Jackson's present success, the answer should be Yes. Says Jackson: "America is more colourblind than it was four years ago. I am where Martin Luther King wanted us to be, at the place where I can be judged for the content of my character rather than the colour of my skin."

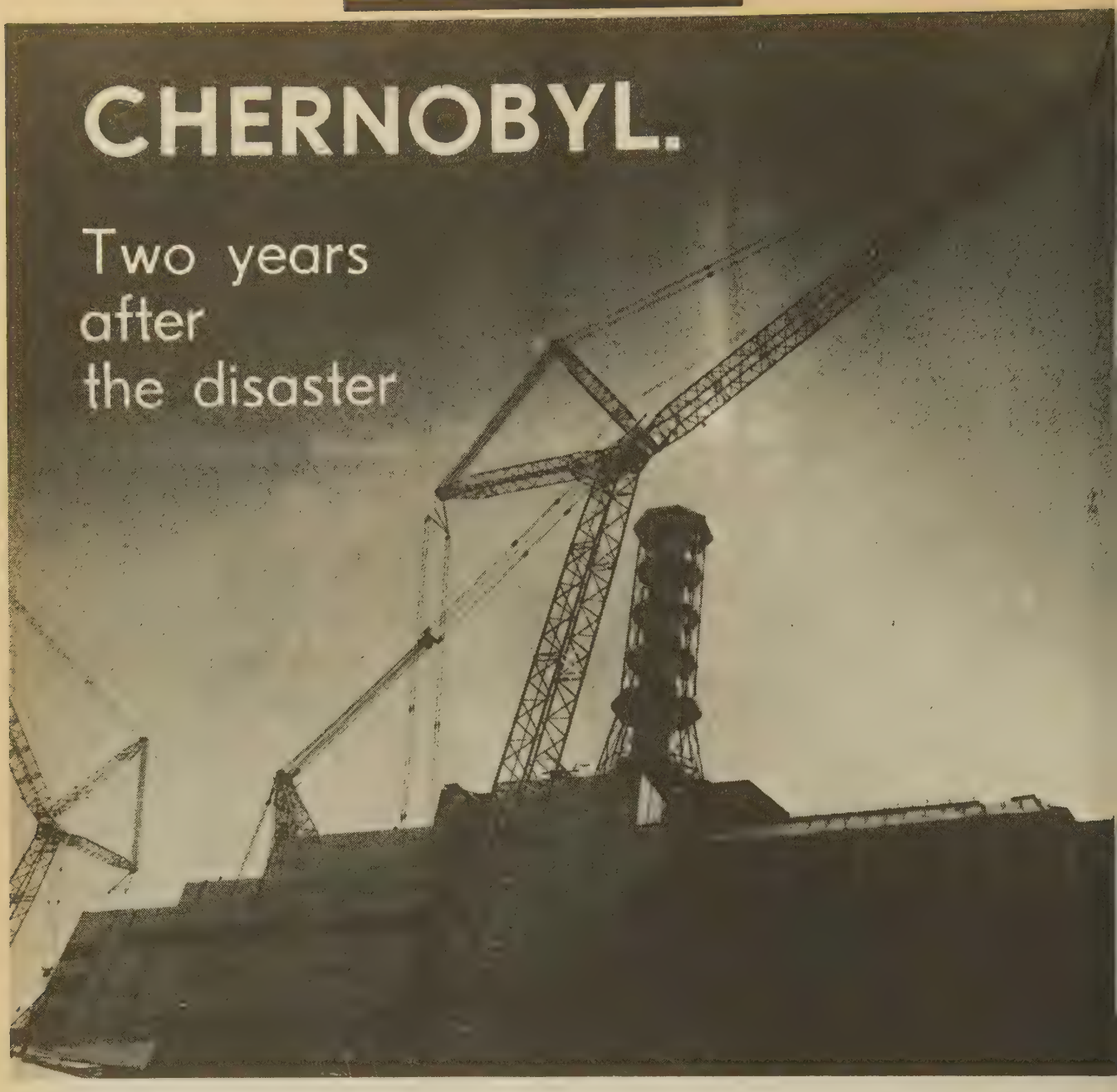
And yet the America of the eighties is not prepared to accept a black president. Jackson's achievement is impressive nonetheless. He is chipping away at the invisible wall which divides Black and White America. No contender can win the Democratic nomination without the votes of his supporters, and if Jackson were to become candidate for Vice-President, the Democrats would have a strong tandem to challenge the rival Republican team. Jackson's own assessment of his chances is as follows: "My future doesn't depend on one election. In a real sense I'm running every day, every year."

GALINA BORISOVA

Photo from U.S. News and World Report (U.S.A.)

CHERNOBYL.

Two years after the disaster



The word "Chernobyl" has long ceased to be merely the name of a small town in the Ukraine. It has come to symbolize a drama caused by the incompetent handling of nuclear technology. What lessons have been learned from the disaster? What is being done to prevent anything like that from happening again? These and other questions are discussed in the interview below.

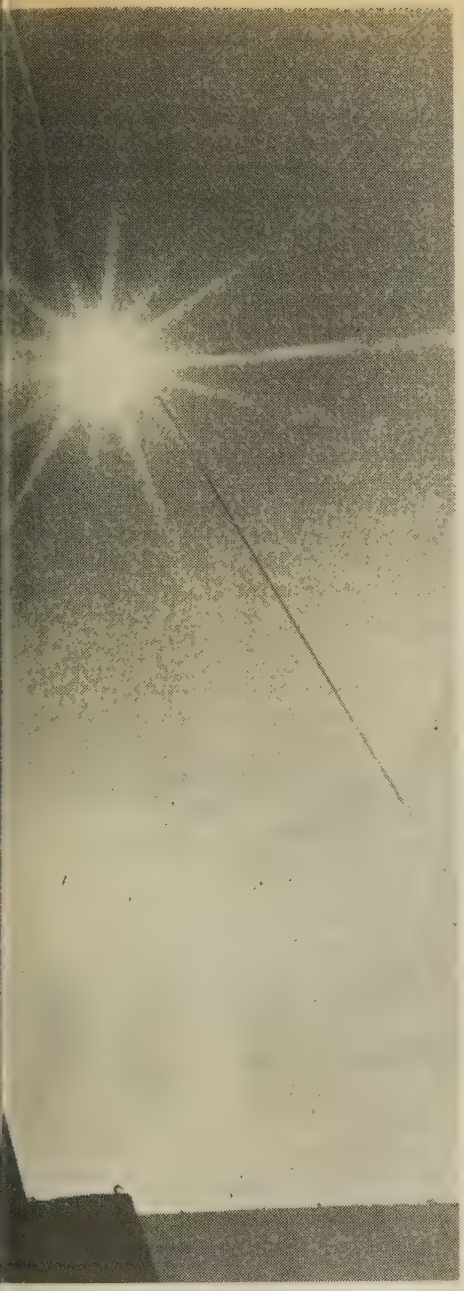
Professor
VICTOR KNIZHNIKOV,
D. Sc. (Med.), a member of the National Commission of Radiological Protection,
is interviewed by New Times.

New Times. Our readers would naturally like to know what present radiation levels are like in Chernobyl from the medical point of view.

Victor Knizhnikov. When I last visited the plant quite recently I found that on the whole personnel are not exposed to higher radiation doses than the accepted norm. For, though decontamination has been undertaken, there is still some residual contamination. Consequently, for us it is crucial to proceed with decontamination and gradually reduce the radiation level.

N.T. What's the outlook for the 30-kilometre zone around the station the population of which was evacuated two years ago? Will it ever be populated again?

V.K. As far as I know, the decision on the 30-kilometre zone is yet to be finalized. Quite possibly some formerly inhabited localities within this zone may be repopulated. We know that there are already dozens of places where it is to all practical intents safe to live. However, the point is that the forests and farm land in their immediate vicinity reveal a dangerously high contamina-



tion level. This means we would have to impose rigid control and take steps to see to it that no haymaking or woodcutting is conducted there, no cattle graze, no children venture into the woods, and so on. Then, unlike the contaminated sections in the regions around Gomel and Bryansk, there are a good many places within the 30-kilometre zone where the strontium and plutonium level is higher than normal. Consequently, we clearly cannot anticipate any extensive repopulation of the 30-kilometre zone in the foreseeable future.

N.T. It is rumoured, though, that some people have been spotted within the zone. Is that true or not? And if it is, aren't these people running a risk?

V.K. Yes, today there are several hundred people to be found within the 30-kilometre zone, if not elderly then at least past middle age, who despite the bans have stolen back to live in their old homes. Frankly, what troubles us most is not how radiation will affect them. Rather it is the discomforts they suffer, the inadequate food and other supplies, health care, services and other things. The radiation levels where they live are not hazardous to life. However, we do not want others, especially young people and children, to follow suit. Why are we so relatively unconcerned? For anyone to experience the consequences of such radiation doses, he or she must first go through the latent period, which averages at least 10 if not 30 years. Hence the elderly are not particularly worried. Furthermore, only some might experience consequences of that order. Still, the fact that people are living within the zone means they are infringing the law.

N.T. Does that mean the zone's vast area will leave a gap in the economic infrastructure for a long time to come?

V.K. As far as the economic infrastructure is concerned, that is possible. However, it does not involve the scientific aspect. We are currently considering an option for this territory, at any rate for the foreseeable future, to be made into a kind of testing ground for scientific research. We trust the Chernobyl disaster will be the last of its kind. In this country, we are doing everything conceivable to ensure that it is so. We have modified the structural system of the nuclear power industry, are no longer to construct reactors of the Chernobyl type, have introduced additional systems for shielding and control, and trained and retrained personnel. However, we must not overlook the fact that we are living in a world in which veritable "mountains" of fissionable material have been amassed, in which nobody is insured against contingencies, acts of terrorism, let alone military hostilities. What I mean is that a Chernobyl could occur again in principle. Hence, the unique scientific research conducted within the 30-kilometre zone is today of immense interest to scientists the world over.

N.T. What are the problems of special concern to you doctors in this connection?

V.K. What worries us most is the health of the evacuees which we are monitoring more specifically by registering every aspect, from the dose received to common ailments, and similarly of the population living in contaminated places hundreds of kilometres from Chernobyl.

Despite the extensive area of contamination, very soon after the accident scientists issued recommendations which, on the whole, have been fully justified. Today, two years later, we can say that we have detected hardly any adverse deviations as regards human health. The near-surface springs have not been contaminated. Just over 99 per cent of the population have not been exposed to doses hazardous to life. If the dose was higher, it was mostly due to internal irradiation in individuals who ignored our recommendations and continued to drink milk from their cows.

N.T. Could you explain the following. According to the latest data of a special medical survey of the population in the worst contaminated territories, that is in several inhabited localities near Gomel and Mogilev in Byelorussia, over which the bulk of the radioactive cloud passed, child mortality figures in 1987 were almost half of those in the "clean" sections. Whereas there it had ranged from 15 to 17 per 1,000, in the "contaminated" areas last year it was down to 9 per 1,000. Could this be the effect of radiation?

V.K. Nothing of the sort. I would like to warn not only laymen, but also some specialists against drawing hasty conclusions and thinking that small doses of radiation have a beneficial impact on the infantile organism. I maintain, and this is the view of the overwhelming majority of my colleagues, that the decrease observed is a direct consequence of the protective measures conducted in these places, as a result of which the doses to which people were exposed were for the most of them not in excess of the safe norms laid down by the national commission. We were able to reduce child mortality thanks exclusively to the overall improved state of sanitary hygiene, by which we mean proper diet, good medical services for pregnant women and newborn babies, a better water supply and even the attention paid to personal hygiene, which served to reduce the incidence of gastroenteritis so often fatal in infancy.

N.T. It has been indicated that in many of the "contaminated" areas radiation levels have "stabilized," though "not normalized." What does that in fact mean?

V.K. Whereas over the previous two years radiation levels fell fairly quickly due to the radioactive decay of shortlived nuclides, there are now less than 10 per cent of these. The remaining mass consists of radioac-

tive caesium, which has a long half life. In 1987 potatoes and other vegetables and fruits and berries obtained from private holdings fully accorded with the norm, which regrettably cannot be said of dairy and meat products, though effective measures are being taken here too. What I mean is that villagers are obliged to deliver the milk from their cows to special processing centres and buy milk for themselves in the shop.

N.T. What you mean is that the problem is now no longer a medical, but more of an economic and social nature.

V.K. Correct. To keep the radiation dose at a sufficiently low level, it is necessary to provide people with uncontaminated food However, to do that and at the same time restore the traditional peasant way of life, a whole range of measures has to be taken. Centralized assistance from the State Planning Committee and the State Agro-Industrial Committee is essential. The impression, though, is that not all executives are aware of this. Indeed, to obtain uncontaminated milk and meat all that needs to be done is to provide cattle with uncontaminated fodder. Our observations have revealed that grass in the woods or along the roadsides is much more contaminated than that on specially cultivated pastures.

We advise supplying private cattle-owners with fodder from such pastures, that is, from commonly owned land. Yet the plan obliges farms to deliver from these lands all the produce stipulated. However, today it is absolutely vital to relieve the collective farms from part of these deliveries so that the latter can be made available to private individuals to feed their cattle. Unless this is done, the problem will persist and eventually the population will be forced to move away. After all, it is one thing not to consume milk and meat from their own cattle for a year or two, and quite another when this situation continues for years on end.

N.T. Is there any alternative to that?

V.K. There is, though on the whole it will not resolve the problem. Smaller villages of 10-15 households, that are difficult to provide with fodder and with all the necessary package of social benefits, could be amalgamated and consolidated in order to introduce the full range of improvements to them. Then, it might be expedient in some cases to switch over to commercial floriculture and seed farming.

N.T. Could you even tentatively sum up the results of the two years of medical observation of the population's health? Would you say there has been any increase in the number of cancer patients, for instance?

V.K. Let me tell you straight out that we have not noted any cases of acute radiation sickness. There were such cases only among the plant personnel and those in the immediate vicinity of the station. We detected virtually no deviation either amongst the evacuees or among the population of territories within the so-called "caesium patches," which we would associate with the impact of the radiation background. Do you find that surprising? Not at all. It has simply confirmed our forecasts. In other words, what I want to say is that doctors and specialists have been proved right, and not the people who, let us say, were only indirectly involved, even though they tried to predict the extinction of all living beings.

However, that does not mean there are no problems left. Doctors must constantly check the health of people living in these territories.

N.T. Could you be a little more specific?

V.K. In the first place, in the case of some of the children, the thyroid gland was exposed to a fairly considerable dose of radiation. This occurred during the very first few days, before we had any clear notion of the dimensions of all aspects of the contamination and had been able to take the necessary steps. In its scale, the accident was unprecedented, for which reason the number of trained specialists available, as well as the amount of equipment, were inadequate.

Medical specialists flew out to the spot at once and started working literally hours after the accident. At the outset they naturally concentrated on the plant and its immediate vicinity, Pripyat and Chernobyl. Only several days later did they begin to get data of other contaminated areas, including some hundreds of kilometres away. However, iodine-131 infiltrated cows' milk the very next day, thus serving to irradiate child organisms.

Our second worry is the problem of more distant consequences in the form of malignant tumours and genetic mutations. We are in a position to predict the upper limit, the lower limit may be zero. We know that a dose of more than 100 REMs may provoke a higher incidence of such tumours in roughly one per cent of those irradiated. However, we unfortunately do not have any clear idea of the consequences of doses of under 100 REMs or, even less so, of lower than 50 REMs. Some scientists believe that the risk of illness is in direct ratio to the dose received, being equivalent to half of one per cent in the case of a 50-REM dose, a quarter of one per cent in the case of a 25-REM dose and so on. Other scientists contend that these doses generally cannot induce any changes whatever in the organism.

N.T. What will irradiated children face?

V.K. I will make no bones about

Irina Shurek, a dosimeter operator.

The Zelyoni Mys camp for the shift workers of Chernobyl atomic power station.

it that in some cases, fortunately, few, we can expect benign or malignant tumours, though no malignant tumours have been registered in the world under such levels of radiation. They are relatively easy to diagnose and prompt and efficient treatment as a rule ensures full recovery. Some children may suffer from a certain depression of thyroid gland function. Let me note that the intricate radioimmune investigations conducted over the last two years have not revealed any deviation in the functioning of the thyroid gland in any of the several thousand irradiated children that we examined.

N.T. Yet how many times have we heard it said that a person coming back home from Chernobyl has fallen ill and died.

V.K. I can tell you with absolute, 100 per cent certainty that this is entirely out of the question, as all cancer forms, including radiation sickness, have what is called a latent or concealed period. In the case of leucosis, it is 10-11 years, in other forms 25 years if not as many as 40 in some cases. Hence neither now nor in the foreseeable future may we expect any increase in the incidence of cancers caused by the accident.

N.T. For many years now, as a member of a special commission, you have been engaged in assessing the comparative risks to human health from coal-burning power plants and nuclear power plants. Is this just a hobby? Or is it a doctor's professional approach to something that is really non-medical?

V.K. I have long been interested in the fate of the nuclear power industry. Today the question generally is one of its future, and in this respect it is important that we do not err. Naturally, the building of nuclear power plants in the neighbourhood of health resorts and large cities worries me. But that is not the real point. As experience has shown, industrialization in many countries, the scientific and technological revolution and human health depend in the main, though it may seem paradoxical, on the level of economic advancement, that is, on how many square metres of housing there are per person, what the minimum cost of living comes to, and how good the available health services are. What underlies all this is the economic structure, and in its turn it is the power industry that is at the base of the economic structure. Not medicines, but the power industry provides the ultimate health indicator as concerns mortality rates, the incidence of illness and the like.

Let us see how nuclear fuel, with the whole cycle of its obtainment (from the extraction of the ore needed to the nuclear power plant itself) affects human health. And let us do the same with respect to the coal industry.

N.T. I beg your pardon, but why these particular industries?

V.K. We have enough coal to provide us with power for approximately the next 500 years. This is the only domain of the modern power industry which can compare with the nuclear power industry. We shall base comparisons on ecological and medical criteria, which are paramount today. For, leaving war aside, it is in ecology that the basic threat to human survival lies. Man may suffocate to death by upsetting the earth's ecological balance. We have deduced that, given the direct mining of coal and uranium, the impact on the human organism is roughly the same. However, in the ultimate stage, that is when we actually obtain the energy, the difference in their environmental impact is very great indeed. The point is that a coal-burning 1,000-megawatt power plant, which is equivalent in capacity to

Needed: "The water of life"

The Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident brought relations between "technology" and "ecology" and their respective supporters to a head. One recalls the old argument between "physicists" and "romantics." That argument seems rather naive today, when the composition of the opposing groups of thinking people is different. Technology, production and applied research make up the arsenal of the "technologists." The "ecologists" are those we sometimes call humanitarians, in the first place people who take a broader view: major scientists and writers whose erudition enables them to look at things from the point of view of the good of the whole of humanity. That group, naturally, includes biologists and professional ecologists. The boundary lines between the groups are often blurred, but the underlying distinction is clear.

The Chernobyl accident, if anything, reinforced the members of every camp in their arguments, so much so that there is a danger of the conflict between technology and ecology becoming more acute. The main danger lies in the growing level of misunderstanding. The "technologists" are essentially pragmatists who want benefits today within the framework of plans for the foreseeable future: five years, 15 years... "Ecologists" think in longer time categories. The smallest unit of time for them is probably a generation, and the next unit is a century.

The Chernobyl disaster, while dividing "technologists" and "ecologists," should in some ways unite them, for the problems which confront them have proved so serious as to make the joining of forces necessary.

Mankind's existence in the age of science and technology can be presented as a model picture: we are trying to get out of a deep rut as the ground slips from under our feet. Everything depends on the speed with which we move. To call on man to stop and go back on the grounds that progress is becoming more and more complex is meaningless. There is no road back! If the human race as it is today were to be thrown back three centuries, it would cease to exist. This does not mean however that we should make a headlong dash forward. On the contrary, we must assume a sensible position. The call of the "ecologists" to close down power stations and chemical plants and go back to nature is naive. There is no road back! The only way to reconcile science and technology with the well-being of mankind is to find a common language between the people who are concerned with the here and now, and those who think they are concerned about future generations but are not going about it in the best possible way. The "technologists" and "ecologists" must find a common ground. Structures must be evolved soon to enable us, on the one hand, to continue technological development, for to stop it would be disastrous, and, on the other, to minimize the side effects, notably ecological damage, of technological progress.

The imperative today is that territories which are lost as human habitats as a result of industrial development must be restored. Numerous technologies have been suggested, some of which are more acceptable than others. More often than not, they suffer from the nar-

that of the Chernobyl power plant's fourth unit, consumes an annual 4-5 million tons of coal. Here, besides burning up a vast amount of oxygen, it emits roughly a million tons of ash and other carcinogenic substances, part of which is discharged into the atmosphere via chimney stacks. It was said at one time that coal consumption ran parallel with the increase in the incidence of lung cancer; however then we did not yet have the proof.

N.T. "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc" — "after this, thefore because of this"?

V.K. By experimenting with mice, we have proved that coal ash does indeed cause lung cancer. Hence all our assessments and parallels have demonstrated that if in the case of the nuclear fuel cycle of operation a 1,000-megawatt plant such as Chernobyl exacts the price of an additional one death a year (taking into consideration the full cycle from the mining of the ore to its consumption), in the coal fuel cycle, the generation of the same quantity of power exacts the price of an additional 300 deaths (from 20 to 600, a figure we are currently in the process of clarifying).

So, if the incidence of other cancer diseases is rising at the slow annual rate of one or two per cent or, on the contrary, is even diminishing, over the past 40 years lung cancer as a cause of death has jumped from the 15th-17th place to 1st-2nd place.

N.T. Do you want to say that by abandoning the nuclear power industry...

V.K. ...We would have the consequence of damaging the economy, cutting back on health service potential. It would affect human health and ecology.

There is no alternative as far as power generation is concerned. Gas and fuel oil will suffice for several decades to come, while, due to technical difficulties, such renewable power sources as tidal and solar energy are thus far out of reach, as regards getting large amounts of energy.

Evidently the optimum option today is to promote the nuclear power industry, provided it is accident-free, reliable, safe and also happily sited.

N.T. You say that people have been exposed to insignificant doses and that everything in the garden is rosy. Does this imply that Chernobyl has had no impact upon humans at all?

V.K. It has certainly had a drastic impact, moreover on hundreds and thousands of people, if not millions. It has had a most adverse effect, particularly from the psychological angle, by which I mean the oppressive fears felt. But there has been more. People have wrecked the health of their children. We have examined infants with irreversible skull and bone deformations, whose parents proudly declared that they had not given them a drop of milk from the day they were born and, as a result, they contracted rickets.

The psychological factor is extremely important and must necessarily be taken into account.

N.T. Our last question, a traditional one for our magazine. How are international contacts developing between medical specialists and doctors in the light of Chernobyl?

V.K. Specialists abroad are interested in everything taking place today in and around the zone. The Soviet government is fully honouring its promise to provide all the relevant information. Proceeding therefrom, next month Kiev is to be venue for a conference on Chernobyl. A number of foreign scientists are invited to the conference. We maintain contacts with scientists in different countries through many different channels. Our purpose is to accept the best that is offered and furnish everything of interest to the foreign scientific community. After all, our common task is to keep man fit and healthy.

Interviewer VLADIMIR GALIN

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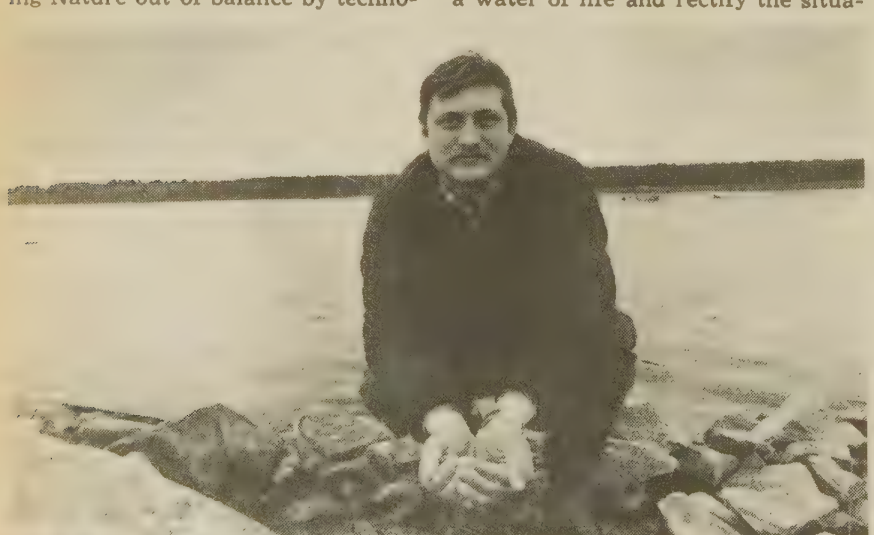
row, ecological approach to the problem of restoring territories. The extreme point of view is: leave Nature to itself and it will restore itself from its internal resources. But in some ways we have already crossed the threshold beyond which Nature cannot restore itself. Plainly, we should help Nature. This provides an opportunity for the "technologists" and "ecologists" to come together. If we have succeeded in quickly throwing Nature out of balance by technological methods (sometimes simply by destroying it) if we should try to reverse this process and learn to restore Nature every bit as rapidly as we have been destroying it. Nature can be quickly restored only with the use of the technology that destroyed it in the first place.

It is like the tale of the water of "life" and "death": first we sprinkled Nature with the water of death, but now the time has come to develop a water of life and rectify the situation. This is a very complex task, but it must be tackled, and the sooner the better. It should be tackled at once and by all of us together.

Instances of such cooperation already exist. The Presidium of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has a group which includes both "technologists" and "ecologists." We have sought — and received — help from this group when necessary. This is only the beginning, but let us hope that such cooperation will become common and widespread. Of late we have witnessed mass protests against various technological projects. Among the protestors are engineers, biologists and economists. It would be a good idea if they gathered not in the street, but in, say, the local Soviet, to discuss and offer sensible alternatives. The press would do well to organize discussions of such problems, while the public would monitor the activity of "nature-transforming" departments.

This approach would be effective and democratic. It is, if you like, a class in a school of democracy in which we are all pupils today.



"This water is perfectly safe to drink."

YULI ANDREYEV
CHERNOBYL
Photo by A. Fyodorov and TASS

The state, law, and the individual

How effective and democratic is our legislative and law administration system? How reliably are Soviet citizens' rights protected? Lev Yelin, New Times observer, put these questions to Professor VALERY SAVITSKY, L.L.D., chief of the socialist legality department of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' State and Law Institute.

The creation of the legal socialist state is to crown the reorganization of our political system, Mikhail Gorbachev said recently. Professor Savitsky, I know that you have been advocating the concept of the legal socialist state for some time. Could you please explain the meaning of this legal term?

The concept of the legal socialist state has been universally accepted, at last, although I must say that its profound theoretical elaboration has just started. To put it briefly, the socialist legal state is that which makes laws, bases itself on laws, and is governed by laws of its own making. That last point is of special importance in the light of the record of our historical development....

Laws are not to be substituted for or replaced by arbitrary decisions by individuals. In the socialist legal state all legislative activity should rest on democratic principles. Our Parliament, the Supreme Soviet, should consider various versions of bills, debate them and make its choice in a really businesslike and free discussion. We are not yet accustomed to that.

For instance, when last year session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet was debating a bill on the procedure of appealing in court against actions by officials that infringe on citizens' rights, some deputies disagreed with certain provisions of the bill and suggested amendments to them. Although these moves were perfectly in order, matters took a rather strange turn: the bill was passed unamended, whereupon a commission was set up to look into the deputies' suggestions and report to the next session on whether they were acceptable. Several months later, the Supreme Soviet heard the report and made amendments in the newly passed act, which had not entered into force.

The concept of the socialist legal state attaches an important role in law-making to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, which exercises full powers of government in the country. This concept leaves no room for the practice of many laws being adopted by the decrees of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and then rubber-stamped at the session. In the period 1980-87, for instance, the Supreme Soviet passed 69 laws, but 47 of them had been enacted by decrees previously published.

The legal state regime should eliminate the situation where a law is amended, extended or curtailed by departmental instructions. Departures from our own laws are absolutely unacceptable.

In a socialist legal state, legal protection is readily forthcoming, and citizens always know where to look for it, don't they?

That's right. Now we are suffering mostly from the absence of a smoothly-functioning law-administering mechanism. By way of illustration, the Law on Work Collectives granted the working people extensive rights to manage their factories, only there were no legal instruments of such management... The inadequacies of the legal mechanism of the Law on the State Enterprise are already making themselves felt.

You have mentioned the role of law in the socialist legal state. What kind of laws do we need today, and shall need tomorrow, in the light of the changes now under way in the country?

The activity of the state finds concentrated expression in the laws it promulgates, in their quality, the sequence of their adoption, and their social orientation. Unfortunately, the protection of personal rights has only quite recently come to be regarded as the top-priority function of legislation. The laws determining the functions and purposes of various institutions by far outnumber those aimed at defining personal status, and protecting citizens from the arbitrary actions of administrators and bureaucrats....

In 1977, when the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. was adopted, our Institute drew up a programme to bring the legislation now in force into conformity with the Constitution. First in the programme was the Law on the procedure of appealing in court against actions by officials that contravene the law and infringe upon citizens' rights. We regarded this law as the most important of all because it protected the interests of millions. It certainly had to take precedence over the laws on concluding and denouncing international agreements, on the Procurator's Office, the Supreme Court, and citizenship... But what actually happened? All the laws named in the 1977 Constitution were adopted within 2-4 years except for one – the law on appealing in court against unlawful actions by bureaucrats. This law saw the light only ten years later, in 1987, after Mikhail Gorbachev told the 27th CPSU Congress that the Constitution's provision for its adoption should be implemented as soon as possible....

Here is another example. In 1961, the national act – the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation – was promulgated. It provided for the adoption of a special law entitling anyone to material compensastion for illegal imprisonment, conviction or deprivation. Do you know when such a law was adopted? In 1981. Its preparation took as long as twenty years. These two examples go to show that laws protecting citizens' rights were long considered of secondary importance and relegated to the bottom of the list. On the other hand, the laws that consolidated the powers of the state machinery came first. This, alas, often led to infringements on personal rights. All this has emerged now, in the atmosphere of democratization and glasnost: the laws and legal regulations protecting the individual are few and even the

ones in force are made poor use of in practice.

Incidentally, the new law on the procedure for appealing in court against actions by officials that contravene the law has attracted much criticism. It is often referred to as wishy-washy and inadequate. Do you agree?

Unfortunately, this law protects human rights not from all unlawful actions by officials which infringe upon human rights, but only from those taken by an individual official on his own. But it is universally accepted practice here to deal with important problems collectively! Even if a civil servant is entitled to decide on a matter on his own, he will not take the risk of answering for his decision (which he knows to be illegal, realizes that this proves in court) and will submit the issue for collective discussion. This is how it actually happens (when considering applications for permanent residence in a place, for instance). Now, a collective decision does not fall within the jurisdiction of any court of law... This is an example of the relationship between law and society, of the harmony between them being upset by the interference of the self-protecting bureaucratic machine.

We are now to adopt several laws intended to protect the rights of the individual, especially in such sensitive areas as criminal legal procedure, where various compulsive measures such as arrests, searches and dismissals can be taken... It can happen that a person under investigation has no means of protecting himself from dishonest investigators and interrogators.

What means of protection would you suggest in such cases?

First of all, the person accused of a criminal offence ought to be entitled to use the services of a lawyer at a much earlier stage in the investigations than is the case at present. Today a counsel for the defence is brought in only after the investigation, with all its commitant circumstances – detention, arrest, and interrogations – is over... Investigators' abuses – such as beating the accused into a "confession" which we read about in the papers – occur, more often than not, during the first hours and first days of an investigation when there is no lawyer about to supervise the handling of the case. Our legislation governing criminal legal procedure, and the activity of the procurator's offices and courts of law need thorough revision. We are now preparing a theoretical model of a criminal code which, we hope, will be an improvement on the present one.

How do you account for the poor prestige of our judges, courts, of our judicial system as a whole? How is the situation to be rectified?

In trying to ascertain the reasons for that, we ought to look back to the late thirties, when people were sent to jail not by courts, but by the so-called „troikas" – administrative rather than judicial bodies; when calumnies and cynical insults were used as damning evidence; when the presumption of innocence was replaced by a cast-iron formula: "We do not arrest innocent people"; and sentences for imaginary crimes were preordained in high places.

How to make the judges independent? How to enhance the prestige of the court?

Photo by V. Panov

The court of law is called upon to play the leading role in the whole Soviet judicial system. Now, however, it has been reduced to an ordinary administrative institution. Pressure is brought on it from every quarter, and few judges can withstand this. This is especially true of people's judges. Candidates for election are in fact hand-picked by the district authorities, which also allocate premises for the courts and apartments for the judges... People realize this and have their doubts as to the independence of the judges. When a criminal case is being tried, many are sure that the court is unlikely to pass a verdict other than that which the procurator insists on. Indeed, the procurator's office has greater influence in a district than the judge does. The district authorities usually accept the procurator's opinion of the judge, and so the judge would rather not spoil his relations with the public prosecutor. Moreover, the judge and the procurator are, as a rule, members of the same local Party organization, which puts them in the same boat. Seeing at times that a defendant must be acquitted, but unwilling to offend the colleague, the judge adjourns the hearing of the case, pending the "elucidation of certain circumstances," as the ruling goes. Afterwards, the procurator quietly closes the case in the privacy of his office.

The trouble is that judges do not feel independent: they are never certain whether they are going to be nominated and elected for another term of office. I see only one way of making judges truly independent: they must be appointed by each Union Republic's permanent supreme government body – the Presidium of its Supreme Soviet – for life.

The independence of a judge is a very important factor, of course. But is it really necessary to appoint a judge for life in order to make him independent? Wouldn't it be enough to improve the existing practice of electing judges, and impart a truly democratic character to it?

I take a different view, and I can offer a concrete programme of action. First of all, it is necessary to put would-be judges, after they have graduated from law school, through a few years as investigators, counsels for the defence, and legal advisers, so that they can gain practical experience... After that the candidates must take very rigorous state examinations. I suggest that each Republic should set up just one authoritative examining board comprising prominent legal theoreticians as well as experienced judges and procurators. If the commission pronounces an examinee competent, he should be put on, say, three years' probation and, if he qualifies for the job, appointed a judge for life. It should be within the powers of the Presidium of the given Republic's Supreme Soviet alone to relieve such a judge of his post on grounds explicitly defined by law (criminal offence, incapacitating illness, etc).

At a recent human rights discussion, I learned that there operate in the country thousands of departmental acts and resolutions which often run counter to laws and even to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. If this is so, can a special body be formed to exercise day-to-day constitutional control, to see to it that the documents adopted

conform to the Fundamental Law of the U.S.S.R.?

You see, the situation is as follows. First, the legal rules adopted by various Ministries and Departments should not contravene the laws now in force. Second: the laws of the union republics should not contravene the laws of the U.S.S.R. And third, the laws of the U.S.S.R. should not contravene the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Effective constitutional control is an indispensable component of the concept of the socialist legal state we discussed earlier. Formally, we have a body in charge of constitutional control – I mean the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. However, that is just one of its 18 functions enumerated in Article 121 of the Constitution. With all the numerous duties assigned to it, the Presidium is simply in no position to give its full attention to important work like constitutional control. This results in a situation where, according to many experts, not a few laws of our constituent republics contravene the laws of the U.S.S.R.

I shall give you a concrete example of how our Constitution has been "amended." Article 58 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. says that "actions by officials that contravene the law may be appealed against in court in the manner prescribed by law." Consequently, this manner had to be law-regulated. In 1979, an amendment was made to Article 4 of the fundamentals of the civil legal procedure extending the jurisdiction of the courts. The amendment contained the Constitutional provision about "complaints," but changed the phrase "...in the manner prescribed by law..." to "...in the manner and in the cases prescribed by law..." A layman probably wouldn't see much difference between the two phrases. But a lawyer would immediately discern an obvious departure from the Constitution here. The Fundamental Law does not specify the cases in which a complaint can be lodged. A person is free to lodge a complaint at his own discretion, and any cases of infringement upon his rights can be appealed against in court. Obviously, even the most detailed list of such cases cannot cover them all. Neither are such cases specified in the law on the procedure for lodging complaints with a court, adopted last year. However, the fundamentals of the civil legal procedure mentioned "cases," which obliged us to draw up a list of them... Now this provision has been removed, but in any case no one has been authrized to amend the Constitution, much less to add to it a word with such a wealth of legal implications. But who is to act as arbiter? Who is to rule that the law contravening the Constitution be declared null and void?

It seems to me that the U.S.S.R. Supreme Court, the highest and most authoritative legal body in the land, should be authorized to decide, at the requests of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the council of Ministers, the Procurator General, Ministers, and private individuals whether this or that legal provision accords with the Constitution. It discharged such functions in the twenties and in the early thirties, and very successfully so. As for any new organizational structure, that will require extra expenses, personnel and technical facilities.

And still, do we need new legal institutions? The post of citizens' solicitor has been instituted in Poland. The holder of the post, Professor Ewa Letowska, offers legal advice and protects citizens' rights vis-á-vis organiztions and officials at all levels. Shouldn't we follow suit?

The very fact of the institution of such post in a socialist state goes to show that we can seek and find new legal instruments for protecting human rights. In order to make our efforts more successful we must discard the cliché that all foreign (especially Western) practices are bad. Until quite recently, references to foreign experience – legal in particular – were used as the strongest arguments against innovations. The concept of the legal state was rejected for the reason that it had been worked out by bourgeois political science and that the appropriate formula is found in the F.R.G. Constitution. It was alleged at one time that Soviet trials should not be competitive, that competitiveness was an attribute of the bourgeois trial where the judge is passive while the parties fight each other, with the odds certainly being in the wealthier side's favour... The very idea of the equality of the prosecutor's and the defence counsel's rights in making their cases was thus rejected, while their actual equality before court was out of the question.

The presumption of innocence was pronounced "a threadbare dogma of bourgeois law" – not in a learned treatise nobody reads, but at the 1958 session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. It is not hard to imagine what effect this political label has had on the development of the theory and practice of the administration of justice in the Soviet Union.

Now we live in an atmosphere characterized by new political thinking. Our contacts with the West continue to expand and we must give more thorough, sober study to foreign experience. The famous Habeas Corpus Act, adopted in Britain in the 17th century, protected the individual from illegal imprisonment. Today this procedure is accepted not only in many bourgeois countries but in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Cuba as well. The Habeas Corpus Act entitles the detainee to face the court within three days of arrest, at the latest; having heard the prosecutor and the counsel for the defence, the court decides whether the arrest is justified, whether the man should be remanded in custody at all or released on parole. Why don't we introduce a similar practice here to protect citizens against illegal imprisonment?

Now, in the run-up to the 19th Party Conference, a discussion of the CPSU's role in contemporary Soviet society is under way. While not denying the fact that the CPSU is the political vanguard of society, its leading and guiding force, most participants in the discussion maintain that its immediate administrative and managing functions should be discharged by other organizations. How do you visualize such a division of functions as applied to legislation?

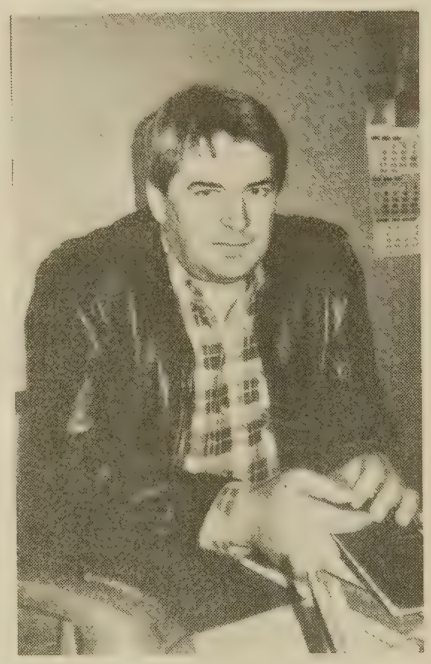
The division of jurisdiction and the organization of work along more rational lines, with the party bodies concentrating on political problems, is a matter of prime importance. Correct division of labour is as necessary in the legal sphere as in any other. As I see it, all legislative activity comes within the terms of reference of Soviet government bodies – the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics. The Party offers political recommendations and issues general directives, while the commissions of the Supreme Soviet and the staff of the Presidium draw up the actual texts of laws.

■

IN QUEST OF THE TRUTH

Though discussions and disputes do not always help to establish the truth, they do give rise to many questions. At least, that was the way it worked at an international meeting in Palermo attended by scientists, scholars, political and public leaders from 26 countries. The theme was "The October Revolution 70 Years On."

YURI AFANASYEV,
D. Sc. (Hist.), rector of the Moscow Institute for Historian-Archivists, kindly granted an interview to our correspondent.



New Times. Yuri Nikolayevich, what was your main impression of the meeting?

Yuri Afanasyev. It appeared to me that the Soviet Union evoked interest and gave rise to an attitude of wariness. We have declared to the world that perestroika is under way in the country. We are not going just to mend it or patch up the holes, but to restructure the very foundations. Many people are, naturally, wondering what this will lead to. How perestroika is going to mould their own future. Though socialism has had many vicissitudes, it is nevertheless a real alternative to capitalism. The coexistence of the two social systems determines the shape of the world. I do not think that the West would be interested in the strengthening of the position of socialism. This is the source of the wariness. As far as I am concerned, this is indisputable. But it is also indisputable that Western apprehension with regard to us is based on more than just our being partner.

N.T. Could you clarify that point?

Y.A. Once the famous scientist Carl Sagan asked me: had the West had any reason to fear us since Soviet power was established? I said it had. Not because of the threat of attack. But because, at a certain stage the government was divorced from the people, from society. This being so, it was uncontrollable and unpredictable in its actions, and this is always dangerous. Our mysteriousness and inscrutability were also a source of fear. The West saw that we were not what we claimed to be. And now we have publicly declared and our first practical steps have confirmed that we want to discover ourselves and appear in the open before the whole world. This inspires people with hope.

N.T. But have you noticed that, when Western scientists, scholars and politicians analyze Soviet society, its difficulties and prospects, they refer in the main to what is called the Stalinist period?

Y.A. I have, but I see nothing unnatural in this. As I see it, if you continue to live and act in the world in the Stalinist style, you court disaster.

It is no laughing matter to start restructuring the foundation of socialism after building it up for seventy years. This is the bitter truth, though not everybody agrees with this appraisal of our record.

The main point at issue, as I see it, is whether we are prepared to repudiate Stalinism as a socio-political phenomenon. The primary task of historians is to abandon the trite concept: "Stalin was good and bad, he was a mixture." This is illogical. Everyone can be a mixture. We must appraise the phenomenon as a whole, in all its complexity, and draw the honest conclusion that the phenomenon in question is alien to socialism.

All this is not simple. Many complicated matters are being revealed. Why have the records of the trials conducted in the 1930s not been declassified? This act of openness would put paid to all the fantastically absurd criminal charges that were brought against people. The historical truth would be restored. In addition, we still have to eliminate the image of "enemy of the people," which was instilled in social psychology under Stalin. All this taken together, in my view, means overcoming Stalinist socialism. There is no place for reticence.

We should start with schools and higher educational establishments. Some of the textbooks are not merely useless, but positively harmful. The material in them is presented in the form of axioms and indisputable truths. You do not need to think, just assimilate. To put it in a nutshell, passive psychology has been programmed. Unless young people come to understand history as a genuine dialectic of clashing contradictions in a dramatic context, they will relapse into apathy and cynicism. Our higher school has decided that it is not enough to improve education with history. It is necessary to restructure it. Though our history has been dramatic and crowded with grievous events, we must know it. This knowledge alone makes patriots who cherish their national culture and hold their past history dear. This alone will enable us to raise a generation capable of taking the history of their homeland for what it is and working in good faith to improve things.

Some people doubt whether it would be advisable for young people to know their history, with all its cruelties. But they will learn about them sooner or later anyway. So let it be sooner. I am certain that we shall never harm history with the truth. But it is easy to harm it with lies. Our system of instruction should urge students to ask questions and not rely on ready answers. It is a pity that our knowledge of history is so superficial.

N.T. Western scholars have been asking what it means to reestablish the concept of socialism. Some political scientists even say that we are about to create new illusions. What is your understanding of the problem?

Y.A. In fact, the point is to reestablish Leninist principles of socialist construction, the principles Lenin and his comrades-in-arms formulated in the 1920s.

Reestablishment in practice of Leninist principles of socialism does not mean a return to the historical conditions of 1917-20. This is out of the question. It is impossible to plunge into the same river twice, not to speak of the historical process. Conditions both inside the country and in the international arena have changed radically. Therefore we can only restore the general concepts of DEMOCRACY, HUMANISM and MAN. In a more general sense, this means the building of socialism by the whole of the people in conditions of civil peace, and not the civil war Stalin was waging. The answers to such questions as the methods to be employed and the concrete solutions to be adopted are to be found in current social practices, both internal and international.

N.T. What are our social scientists doing to assess the state of Soviet society in scientific categories and to interpret it theoretically?

Y.A. At the moment there are many theoretical discussions. Many hypotheses have been advanced. In one of his works, for instance, Professor Butenko has put forward the thesis that, under present conditions in the U.S.S.R., a post adds up to private property, because the person occupying it has the right of ownership of a function, of his seat. In substantiation, he quoted Marx who said that the bureaucracy had usurped the power of a class. In an article I have written that property has been alienated from the worker. This occurred during the collectivization in the late 1920s. At the same time the state was alienated from society. As a result, overwhelming majority of the people lost the sense of being in control. What should be done to recover this sense? As yet we have failed to find a satisfactory reply to the question. Today there are many questions bearing on democracy, economic accounting and self-financing. We will surely stumble over a few points. But in trying to understand developments we should not panic. We are looking for answers that have not yet been found.

N.T. Western philosophers and political scientists have been questioning the validity of dialectical and historical materialism. What is your opinion on the matter?

Y.A. In the 20th century, Marxism cannot obviously exist in the form in which it was created in the past, and not just because of the general laws governing mankind's intellectual history and all intellectual doctrines. There is also another aspect, namely the new intellectual situation and absolutely new social practices.

The thesis of the three sources and three components of Marxism is well known. But what about new sources? As I see it, all gifted and powerful intellectual lines in the world today are sources of the current development of Marxism. Marxism has retained its distinctive features and is enhancing them.

There are at least two points which not only augment dialectical materialism, but also impart to it new meaning and new content. The first is the achievements of present-day natural science. Although V.I. Lenin witnessed the beginning of the revolution in natural science, he did not live to see it develop fully in the 20th century – the theory of relativity and nuclear physics. Take another, humanitarian, line. The idea of the dialogue today, for instance. The idea that minds of different type and character, different types of thinking and different cultures can perceive one and the same object in different ways. This idea has acquired tremendous importance in the 20th century. This difference is not mankind's misfortune, but its gain.

Historical materialism is not stagnant either. We have become accustomed to the theory of the unconditional dependence of the superstructure on the base. Contemporary Marxism should overcome this unqualified determinism. This, ultimately, should be the point of departure in understanding the phenomenon of changelings in history, when it is not the economy, but the political regime that constitutes the determining factor of development for years, if not centuries.

At the moment a whole range of problems, such as the role of the political or state factor, the danger of the state bureaucratization of society, and the relationship between the social and individual principle have acquired great relevance.

For a long time we believed that capitalism was played out. Today we are having to formulate new concepts about capitalism and its potential.

Today it is necessary to work out a new concept of the world in which two types of social system coexist.

Socialism makes use of the competition with capitalism, of the new possibilities that have taken shape within the framework of capitalism. Socialism should not be inferior to capitalism in this respect.

In other words, a new theory of socialism is now taking shape which should correspond to the realities of the 21st century. It would be fair to say that Marxism has reached a qualitatively new intellectual level characterized by the inspiration to renew itself.

N.T. It is a fact that all of us, both we and our Western colleagues, are engaged in the search for truth. What must be done to make a comparison of viewpoints and ideas productive? What should be done to prevent arguments from escalating into conflict?

Y.A. In my opinion, the fundamental principle of and primary condition for any scientific argument is a lucid exposition of the parties' positions at the methodological and theoretical levels. A clearly formulated position can legitimately be opposed to another position. But I am against an omnivorous approach in science. The existence of different viewpoints is permissible. However, the purpose of scientific dialogue is to establish the truth, and not truths. There is only one criterion here, namely the degree to which a hypothesis, theory or thesis corresponds to logic and fact. No reference to authority or attempt to prove your point with the help of a quotation are acceptable here. What is needed is an analysis in keeping with logic and fact. This is a manifestation of respect for the opponent's viewpoint. Frankly, we are not always tolerant. Perhaps this is because we cannot give up writing myths completely. We often regard life not in terms of rational definitions and characteristics, but in terms of concocted farfetched formulae. This creates difficulties for everyone. This makes it difficult to carry on a normal argument or discussion. Many people would like to turn a scientific argument into a conflict. There are plenty of examples. Those bent on demagoguery are skilful in tagging their opponents and deliberately misinterpreting their words. If we adhere to such practices we shall never be able to cope with the task of theoretically interpreting the practical construction of socialism.

So far our approach to any Western opponent has added up to the following: since he is not a Marxist, he is at best an empiricist. We are in possession of the philosopher's stone. That will not do any longer. It is necessary to engage in a dialogue or discussion as equals, as colleagues. This is vital for our admission to world humanitarian thought. I see no other way. Practice has shown that scientific studies of man and society are being developed outside of Marxism, too, and not only at an empirical, but also at a theoretical level. This does not mean that I support theoretical eclecticism. No one is preventing us from conducting a discussion, proceeding from the principles of materialist dialectics. But it is useful to see that other methods of interpreting things can also be productive.

Interviewer **PAVEL NEGOITSA**

Rome

The ordeals of an enterprising man

Sergei Dubov

Last year, more than 150,000 cooperative members produced goods, and rendered services with a total of about 350 million rubles. There are 14,000 cooperative societies in the country functioning in the services sphere, in trade, in consumer goods production and in public catering. The Stroitel cooperative society in Karelia is helping carry out the road-building programme there; it laid and made ready for service 60 km of highways in six months. In the Urals, a cooperative society "purchased" a brickworks from the state and is now keeping the region supplied with bricks and other building materials. In the Novgorod Region, the Volkhov cooperative builds homes, roads and production facilities. Mind you: all this work is now being done not by odd-job men out for a fast ruble, but the state's contractors.

People who had been discouraged from private enterprise for years took the revival of the cooperative movement seriously. But although the ice has been broken, there persist such heavy ice packs in the cooperatives' way that it seems the new hopes will be dashed again. Certain executive committees of District Soviets of People's Deputies doggedly refuse to register cooperative societies on the grounds that "they are of no use to the residents of our district" or that "we already have all the everyday-service cooperatives we need." And this despite the fact that the taxes collected from cooperatives go into the local budget. So why are the district authorities resisting cooperative societies? For fear of losing some of their omnipotence, perhaps?

Doesn't it pay to formalize the cooperative societies' right to appeal in court against cases of executive committees refusing to register them?

Cooperative societies are set up by enterprising and energetic people who come up against all sorts of difficulties and barriers, as evidenced by the fact that only 60 per cent of all the coops registered in this country are actually operational.

Two obstacles have seemed insurmountable so far: one is lack of premises, and the other lack of resources. The executive committees are not too eager to allocate premises to cooperative societies. Want to strike out on your own? All right, go ahead and look for a vacant space, prove that nobody in the district wants it and that you can use it, and then the commission of the executive committee will decide whether to register your cooperative. If you have no such vacant space it's no use applying for registration – your request will be turned down.

As far as raw materials and equipment are concerned, the situation is even worse. As they become self-financing, many factories are only too willing to get rid of their superfluous "non-liquid" stock and outdated equipment. However, selling them involves legal problems. What can the cooperatives do about it? Look for loopholes in the law?

Why not give the cooperative societies a hand in purchasing this "non-liquid stock" on mutually profitable terms? After all, if private operators are able to acquire raw materials promptly and unimpeded, and thus spared the need to go around begging for them, they will produce a great deal of goods, and fast; the quality of their products will improve. The abundance of goods will give rise to competition which, in turn, will help rationalize prices. What used to cost 160 rubles at Moscow's Rizhsky Market (a denim jacket, for instance) is now 30 to 40 rubles cheaper thanks to competition on the part of provincial cooperatives.

For as long as hiring production premises and purchasing resources remain big problems, all talk of promoting the cooperative movement is just so much hot air.

There are other reefs in the way of the cooperatives. I mean numerous checkers who are overprejudiced against cooperatives and whose main preoccupation seems to be finding fault with them. One Moscow cooperative was inspected by 17 commissions in the space of three months. Some do not confine themselves to inspection and go to the lengths of dictating to cooperatives as to what they should do, and what they shouldn't. What's more, they insistently recommend former municipal civil servants, recently made redundant, for membership of the cooperatives!

Should an "enterprising man" decline such a recommendation, he will have to entertain guests daily from the district revenue inspectorate, the auditing commission, the militia, the sanitation and rodent control board, the fire prevention department and the people's control committee.

The Bill on Cooperatives has been submitted for nationwide discussion, a normal procedure today. On the other hand, the Decree of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on the taxation of cooperatives has been adopted without discussion, quietly, the "good old" way. Izvestia simply informed its readers that a progressive tax would be levied on coops as from April 1. But what if coop owners and other citizens object? What if they regard this measure as an obstacle to an enterprising effort? Incidentally, progressive taxes are also to be collected from the cooperatives that lay roads, build homes and make bricks under state contracts.

The Bill on Cooperatives is now under nationwide discussion

An enterprising man thought that by making up for consumer product shortages and meeting market requirements, at the cost of 10 to 12 hours' work a day he would make a good living. And now he has been given a broad hint that he is earning too much. So what? Isn't a hard-working man entitled to have plenty to show for his efforts? Don't his efforts benefit the state, i.e., you and me?

The long-awaited Volkhov cooperative has been set up in the Novgorod Region at last. Its enthusiastic supporters include the First Secretary of the Region's Party Committee, who is going to take up cudgels for it at government level. And what about the other coops? Who's going to protect their interests? Is each of them supposed to beg the authorities to stretch a point?

The public at large seems to be all for cooperatives, but in fact it is often the diehards who have the final say.

The message of Professor Mendelsohn's necktie

Drawing up the final document.

The window panes of the high-rise Viru Hotel vibrated frantically, but withstood the high winds. So strong were the gusts that they turned the umbrellas of passersby inside out. Yet only the previous day, when the Moscow-Tallinn train brought us to the Estonian capital, it had been a quiet and sunny day.

By "us" I mean the Soviet and American participants in the seminar on relations between the two countries and regional conflicts. Opening the seminar, the Chairman of the Estonian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Hero of the Soviet Union Arnold Meri compared the changeable weather Tallinn had displayed with the state of U.S.A. — U.S.S.R. relations, periods of coldness replacing periods of warmth. But, added our host, the first snowdrops have appeared and I should like to present these first flowers to the participants in the seminar. And he did.

The tone he set was taken up by Professor Everett Mendelsohn of Harvard University. My choice of tie, today, he observed, was not accidental. And all eyes in the hall focussed on the tie — perhaps a bit on the frivolous side for such a serious academic. My tie, he added smiling as he pointed to the colourful flowers on it, is also a symbol of spring. The professor spoke of the spring of hope — the hope for an improvement in our relations which had appeared in the "Gorbachev era." Reagan made politics dependent on ideology, Gorbachev is another type of leader, a man with other views, was how he summed it up.

Paul Walker, who represented the Institute for Peace and International Security (Cambridge, Massachusetts) began by remarking that if the Democratic Party were to nominate Mikhail Gorbachev for the U.S. presidency, it would have a much better chance of winning the presidential race than the Republicans. Security has ceased to be a national issue — it is today an international one. Paul Walker went on to say that the U.S. could produce three missiles a day — and so probably could the U.S.S.R., he added. But did it make sense to spend money on such things? He noted that the money was needed for other purposes, for instance, in the medical field. Child mortality in the U.S., he said, was higher than in almost all the U.S.-allied European countries. And in your country, he added, things are even worse.

The Estonian scholar Gabriel Hazak compared the situation in which we now found ourselves with that of a ship caught in a storm. Of course, the important thing is who stands on the captain's bridge. That question remains. But even more important is whether we want to survive or to be shipwrecked, to survive or perish in a nuclear war.

One day of the seminar was devoted to a trip to the university city of Tartu, about three hours' ride from Tallinn. On the way we talked to Professor Mendelsohn, who headed the delegation of the American Friends Service Committee, an organization linked with the Quakers. (The seminar was sponsored on our side by the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the U.S.S.R.—U.S.A. Society).

I knew that the Protestant Quaker sect had emerged in the 17th century, that its followers sought to find in themselves an "inner light," and that their principles included industriousness and absolute honesty. They also regard charity as extremely important, and are pacifists by conviction.

The professor told me that there were approximately three million Quakers in the world today. As for the Committee Friends it was founded in 1917 as an educational organization that sought to improve living conditions, study and remove the causes of armed conflicts. The professor said they were perfectly aware that their organization on its own could not change the world. But they suggest different ways in the hope that their experience will be taken up and developed by others.

Professor Mendelsohn described the current visit to the Soviet Union as a very special one, since what was happening in the country was fascinating. All of society was focussing on resolving existing problems, and self-criticism was spreading on a national scale. All the questions they put were being answered, he noted, yet that had not always been the case in the past. He remarked on how interesting the press had become, and as an example cited that day's paper, in which he had seen interviews with Cyrus Vance and Willy Brandt....

The press and its role in strengthening trust and mutual understanding was the subject of the last day of the seminar. Professor David Rubin of New York University spoke in detail of the principles followed by American journalists. As he described it, a newsman is responsible only to his boss and therefore has greater leeway. In the Soviet Union journalists are civil servants and therefore do not have the same freedom. Rubin's fellow delegates, however, expressed less enthusiasm about the freedom of journalists in the U.S.: he who pays the piper cals the tune — the advertisers who are the main source of income of any publication place their adds in the publications closest to them in spirit.

Speaking of the problems of the Soviet press, a member of our delegation noted that its treatment of domestic themes has markedly improved, which, unfortunately, does not apply to the coverage of international affairs. Was there a way out? Yes, there was. The situation would not change, until any commentary on world affairs, any article or any dispatch ceased to be regarded as the Kremlin's view, the Foreign Ministry's view. The inertia is very strong, and we cannot do without the cooperation of our American (and other foreign) partners. They have to change their perception of our publications.

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY

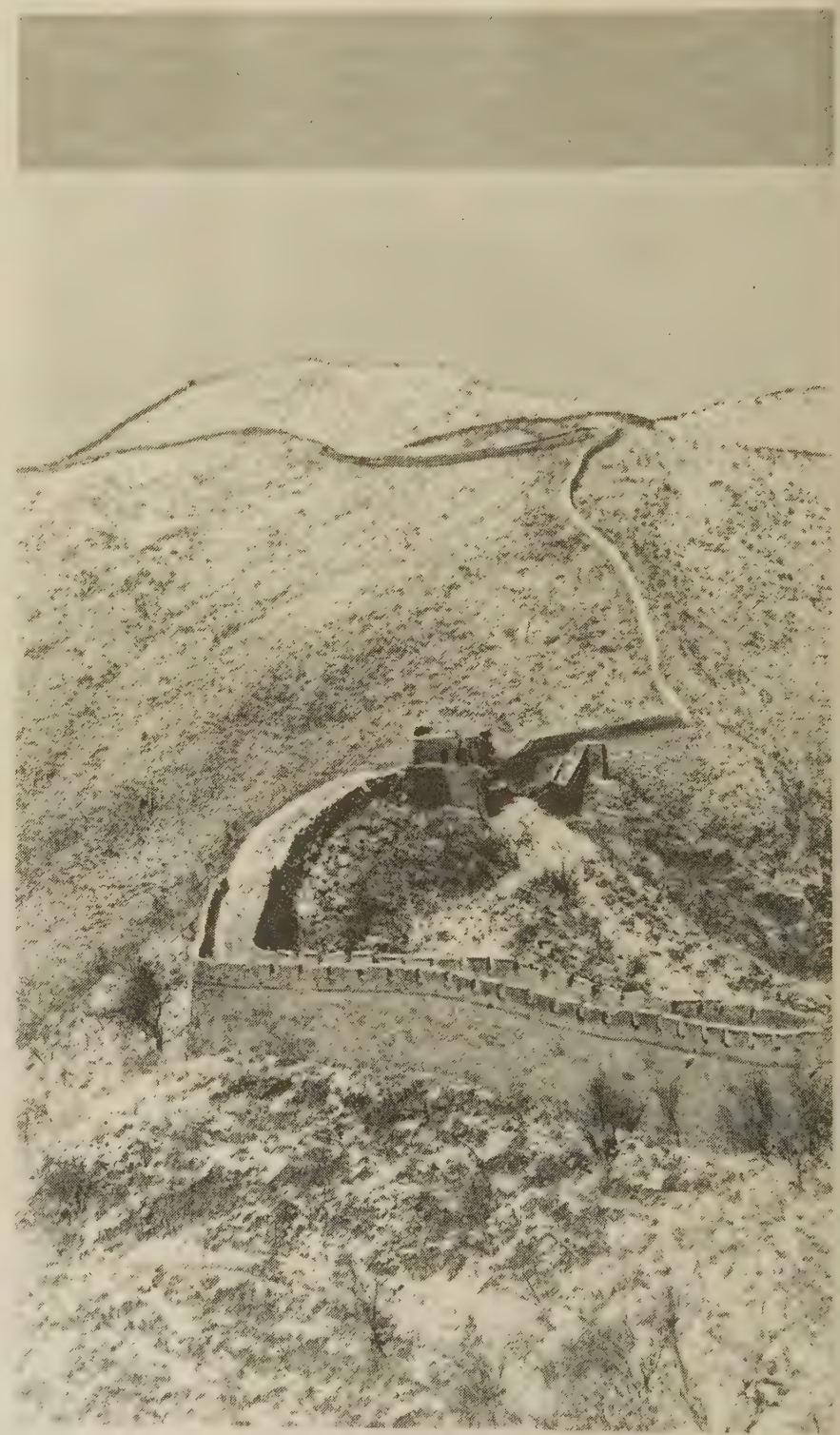
Photo by Tiit Veermäe

Shifts of emphases

Evolution of Chinese foreign policy in the 1980s

EVGENY BAZHANOV

A whole range of factors influences the evolution of China's foreign policy. The relaxation of tensions between the U.S.S.R. and the United States is especially important in this respect. China, political scientist Huan Xiang says, is trying to take advantage of the situation for "a talk with both countries on a wide range of issues."



Changes

International détente, Peking believes, may last for a long time and lead to big changes in the world scene. This conclusion is based on the assumption that the current reduction of tensions has deep economic roots and reflects the vital interests of the Soviet Union and the United States. In view of this, Peking thinks, China should make appropriate changes in its policy.

Changes are also being made as a result of continuing friction in China's relations with capitalist countries, especially with the United States and Japan. Chinese newspapers have recently pointed to "factors of instability" in Sino-American relations, caused mainly by the United States' "gross interference" in China's domestic affairs and Washington's "political blackmail."

In particular, they mention the U.S. stand on the Taiwan issue, the support given on Capitol Hill to the Tibetan separatists, statements by Congress against the planning of the birthrate in China, American attacks on Chinese policy in the Persian Gulf, restrictions on the delivery of U.S. technology to the Chinese market, and charges by American legislators that freedom of speech and the press "is not respected" in China.

Chinese leaders have repeatedly noted

Continued from issue No. 17, 1988.

dangerous trends in the domestic and foreign policies of Japan, stressing that "the tendency towards a revival of militarism is constantly being manifested" there and that Tokyo is to blame in a number of cases. It has also been noted that Japan's military expenditure has exceeded one per cent of the gross national product and that its navy and air force have considerably extended their sphere of operation. Nor have the official visits of the Japan's premier to the Yasukuni Temple, where the souls of war criminals "rest," passed unnoticed.

Chinese newspapers point to the growth of Japan's political ambitions, its great-power conceit and desire to become not only an economic but also a political superpower. Statements in favour of the Japan-U.S. security treaty are no longer made. In the opinion of some Chinese observers, "the Tokyo-Washington alliance is by nature aggressive" and "complicates the situation in the Asian-Pacific region."

Peking is also unhappy about Tokyo's trade and economic policy. It has been noted in particular that China has a big chronic trade deficit with Japan and that Japanese investments in the Chinese economy are increasing fairly slowly. Another reason for Peking's displeasure is Tokyo's stand on the Taiwan issue, in particular, the open activity in Japan of the Movement for the Independence of Taiwan and the intensified activity of the pro-Taiwan lobby there.

All these factors seem to be accelerating the continuing evolution of China's basic policy. "The period when the United States and China jointly opposed the Soviet Union is passing away," a highly placed Chinese politician said recently. "Relations between the United States, the Soviet Union and China have entered a new phase."

Peking's top priorities

Today China's main interest is in the relaxation of world tensions, Deng Xiaoping says. Indeed, China is energetically joining the processes of disarmament and détente and the settlement of regional conflicts, and has displayed its eagerness to improve relations with other states. Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian declared at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly last autumn that his country advocates the comprehensive prohibition and complete elimination of nuclear, space, chemical and biological weapons of all types and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as a substantial reduction of conventional armaments.

The curbing of the arms race, Peking points out, is being demanded by the people at large, and effective disarmament will be "an important link in the improvement of the international situation and the safeguarding of world peace."

Chinese leaders believe that the Soviet Union and the United States, as the countries with the largest stockpiles of weapons, have a special responsibility for disarmament and must initiate large-scale reductions in nuclear and conventional armaments. Peking has declared its readiness to join the disarmament process after the Soviet Union and the United States "have discontinued the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, and made substantial cuts in and abolished all types of these weapons." In the meantime, China reserves the right to strengthen its military potential, its nuclear component included.

As a country interested in curbing the arms race, China supports the Soviet-American negotiations on this question. Peking has welcomed the conclusion of the INF treaty. In some of the press comments the treaty has been described as historic, bacause a whole class of nuclear weapons is to be scrapped for the first time.

At the same time, Chinese leaders point out that the INF treaty is only the initial step. The parties concerned, Deng Xiaoping said, "must go forward, and a great deal still has to be done." Moscow and Washington have been urged to speed up their talks, "not to mark time, and stop competing in the development of new, increasingly sophisticated types of weapon."

It was stressed at the first session of the National People's Congress of the 7th convocation that "even after the United States and the Soviet Union have cut their strategic nuclear weapons by half, their nuclear stockpiles will still make up over 90 per cent of the world's total."

Initiatives

It should be noted that China itself has taken practical steps in the field of disarmament. Back in 1964 it pledged "never and under no circumstances to be first to use nuclear weapons." Peking also promised "not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries or regions."

In 1986, China declared that it would no longer test nuclear devices in the atmosphere and expressed its adherence to the principles of nuclear non-proliferation, though refusing to sign the appropriate treaty on the grounds that it is of "a discriminatory character." One more circumstance is also important. In the past few years China has cut its armed forces by a million. The budgetary expenditure on defence has been pruned down, with part of the industrial capacities converted to production for civil needs. Some army installations are now used for peaceful purposes.

Chinese delegates to the United Nations have put forward initatives in the field of disarmament. Peking is also showing interest in the initiatives and steps taken by other countries with the aim of curbing the arms race. For instance, it has acceded to the Treaty of Tlatelolco on banning nuclear weapons in Latin America and the Rarotonga Treaty on establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific.

Peking backs the proposals to make the Korean Peninsula a nuclear-free zone and create such zones in Northern Europe and the Balkans. It has also received the idea of establishing a non-nuclear zone in Southeast Asia with understanding.

The Chinese stand on a number of regional problems is changing further. Peking favours proposals to settle the Middle East conflict on the basis of appropriate U.N. resolutions and hold an international conference on the Middle East problem with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It is demanding the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to their own statehood, and the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and gives assistance to Arab countries. Proclaiming its strict neutrality in the Iran-Iraq conflict, Peking has joined in the efforts to restore peace between Teheran and Baghdad and, in particular, to implement Security Council Resolution 598.

Denouncing Pretoria's policy, Peking is calling for sanctions against the racists and the abolition of the apartheid regime, and advocates the granting of independence to Namibia without linking the issue with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. It has opposed foreign interference in Central American affairs and favours eliminating seats of tension there by political means, on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of the Central American states.

It is against this background that Soviet-Chinese relations continue to develop. Talks on frontier issues have been started with success, and political consultations are in progress. Last autumn the foreign ministers of the two countries met again at the General Assembly session in New York, and a delegation from the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association took part in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

In January 1988, the Chinese magazine Liaowang carried an interview with Mikhail Gorbachev, which was widely read in the country, and in the same month a collection of articles and

speeches by Deng Xiaoping entitled "Basic Problems of Present-Day China" was published in the Soviet Union. In its turn, China has published a collection of articles and speeches by Mikhail Gorbachev. Substantial progress has been achieved in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation. The two countries are discussing prospects of setting up joint ventures.

However, the Soviet Union and China still have differences on a number of problems in the Asian-Pacific region. The demand to remove the "three obstacles" has not been withdrawn and, Peking believes, for as long as these obstacles exist, progress in political relations and their complete normalization will be impossible. Speaking at the latest session of the National People's Congress, Li Peng declared in particular that Chinese leaders wished to meet with Soviet leaders, provided Moscow withdrew its support for Vietnam's policy in Kampuchea. In his view, the Soviet Union should impel Vietnam to pull its troops out of that country as soon as possible.

Not all aspects of Soviet foreign policy are approved by Peking. According to the magazine Shijie zhishi (No. 5, 1987), there are different views in China as to whether perestroika in Soviet foreign policy is a tactical or a strategic move. The authors of some articles distrust Soviet peace initiatives. The concept of "Two superpowers" is occasionally trotted out. The easing of world tensions is sometimes interpreted as the weakening of the "superpowers" and the consolidation of "the peace forces," which are seen to include virtually all other countries.

Toward balanced relations with East and West

Such an attitude to the Soviet Union is not explained in terms of unresolved problems in Soviet-Chinese relations alone. It is rather motivated by Peking's desire to preserve a distance between China and the "superpowers," and maintain balanced relations with them. Even after they have been completely normalized, Peking argues, China's relations with the Soviet Union "will never be such as they were in the 1950s; there will no longer be a 'union' or 'a great socialist family' with junior or elder brothers; instead, there will be full independence and sovereignty."

China, Peking says, "does not determine its relations with other countries on the basis of coincidence of social systems or ideologies, or differences between them; it does not conclude alliances and does not establish strategic relations with any of the great powers."

Chinese leaders make no secret of the fact that, despite all the conflicts, they want to have good relations with capitalist countries. One article recently published in the Chinese press stressed that Peking "values its present relations with the United States and does not want to see a deterioration in the situation with regard to peace and development in the Asian-Pacific region." For that reason Peking takes a cool-headed and restrained stand in its disputes with the United States. In the opinion of the Chinese government, its relations with that country are on the whole stable. It is noted that both sides maintain contacts at a high level and that trade, economic and other ties between them are expanding.

Why are normal relations with the United States so important to China? In the military and strategic context, such relations to some extent neutralize the potential threat to national security. In the 1950s and 1960s, when Peking was in a state of confrontation with Washington, the militarist activity of the United States in the Asian-Pacific region was directed towards containing and intimidating China. It took a great effort to counter the provocations and aggressive actions by Washington and its allies.

The virtual discontinuing of confrontation with the United States at the present stage is regarded by Peking as its major foreign policy achievement. Politically, it allows Peking to keep out of many international conflicts. Lastly, economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the United States, Japan and West European countries is an essential condition for the modernization of China.

Without the assistance of industrial capitalist states, Chinese newspapers write, China will always lag behind the world's advanced standards and will never realize the advantages of the socialist system. The open economic policy is yielding tangible results. In the 1980s more than 55 billion dollars have been received by China from abroad in various forms. The total sum of foreign investments has exceeded 22 billion dollars, with 8.5 billion dollars going to industry. Some 14,000 units of modern technology worth 12 billion dollars have been imported, and agreements on the setting up of more than 10,000 enterprises with the participation of foreign capital have been concluded.

Chinese economists estimate that, thanks to the assistance of other countries, China has been able to build new industries, such as the manufacture of computers and colour TV sets. Retooling is under way in the aircraft and motor industries, and the rate of growth in the chemical, metallurgical, transport and power industries has been increased. But, it is noted in China, capitalist ideology is penetrating the country through the open doors, and problems have arisen on the ideological front.

It can be concluded from the above that China is interested in the expansion of its ties both with the Soviet Union and the United States, East and West. Such a policy is optimally compatible with the interests of modernization and the status of China as a great power. China will, therefore, treat with discretion forms of political cooperation that could impair its balanced policy. On the whole, today and, it seems, in the future, Chinese foreign policy will be determined by three main factors.

Firstly modernization calls for a peaceful pollicy, and cooperation with as many states as possible. Secondly, there is China's growing desire to play the role of a great power in the world, especially in Asia. In this respect clashes are possible between China and any country which, in Peking's opinion, infringes on its rights and fails to take China's interests into account. Thirdly, there is the need to protect the country's socialist gains. This need will restrict cooperation with the West and impel China to expand its contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. ■

Lessons of history, outlook for the future

The late 1940s and early 1950s have gone down in history as the period of the rise and consolidation of the people's democracies. As the period of the formation of the socialist world system. As the years of search for ways and means of building a new society. This period also witnessed the birth and affirmation of a new type of interstate relations. Regrettably, however, not everywhere and in every respect was the process flawless. For instance, for five years beginning with 1948, relations between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which were allies during the war and cooperated closely in the early postwar period, were to all intents and purposes broken off. Today the relations between our two countries are firm and stable. The recent visit of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia created auspicious conditions for the entire complex of Soviet-Yugoslav relations to rise to a new and higher level.

That we should seek to obtain a deeper insight into the not always cloudless history of the relations between our two countries is natural. With a clearer understanding of the past and with the blank spots in history filled in, we can draw valuable lessons for the future.

A resolution on the situation in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia adopted in June 1948 by what was known as the Informbureau levelled unfounded accusations against the leadership of that party. How and why did this happen? ***VLADIMIR ZELENIN,*** *D.Sc. (Hist.), a well-known authority on the history of Yugoslavia and Soviet-Yugoslav relations, discusses this question below with our own correspondent Gennady Sysoev.*

October 1944. Belgrade is free!

Gennady Sysoev. For 44 years now you have been engaged in research relating to Yugoslavia. You first visited that country on February 23, 1944, as a member of a Soviet military mission. What were the relations between our countries at that time?

Vladimir Zelenin. The ties between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, the relations between our government and the leadership of the new Yugoslavia, born in the crucible of the people's liberation struggle, were pervaded by the spirit of internationalism. These are not idle words. I saw for myself how sincere was the love for the Soviet Union cherished by the fighting men and commanders of the People's Liberation Army, how fervent was the desire of the working masses of Yugoslavia, and particularly the youth, to draw to the fullest on the rich experience of the Red Army, and after the war ended, on our country's experience in the building of socialism, how great was the trust placed by the Yugoslav Communists in our Communist Party. And we, for our part, were sincere and comradely in our attitude to the Yugoslav communists, to the fighting men of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia

and the people of Yugoslavia. The Soviet fighting men who took part in the Belgrade operation for the liberation of the eastern part of Yugoslavia fought as selflessly and valiantly as for their native land.

Today, evaluating as a historian the policy of the Soviet government vis-á-vis Yugoslavia during World War II I recall with satisfaction that our policy was friendly, that it was aimed at the support of the revolutionary forces of Yugoslav society. It contributed to the victory of the revolution.

G.S. Yugoslavia lost 1.7 million lives in the war. This was the price paid for their liberation by the people of that country who, moreover, made a substantial contribution to the common victory over fascism. In the initial postwar period Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, the foundation for which was laid in the course of joint struggle against fascism, continued and developed. What would you say was the most characteristic feature of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia at that time?

1945. A street scene in the capital of Yugoslavia.

V.Z. The cooperation between our two fraternal countries extended to all spheres. It involved not only state bodies and government organizations but also the population at large. For instance, thousands of Yugoslav students came here to study in our institutions of higher learning.

Our interstate relations were based on the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation signed in Moscow on April 11, 1945, during Marshal Tito's visit to the U.S.S.R.

Close economic ties existed between our two countries. They were initiated by the Soviet-Yugoslav agreement on reciprocal commodity deliveries concluded on April 13, 1945, the first agreement of its kind concluded by the new Yugoslavia. Soviet people helped Yugoslavia to restore its war-wrecked economy.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia stood shoulder to shoulder on the international arena parrying the first "cold-war" onslaughts. Our interparty ties, too, were extremely close. These perhaps are the salient features of that period that should be mentioned without going into the details as these have been covered quite thoroughly in historical studies.

G.S. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the subsequent period – 1948-55. Our historians appear to have lost sight of those years altogether. I do not think it would be right to confine ourselves merely to registering the fact that the relations between our two countries at that time were ruptured. It is in place to ascertain why this happened, how the above-mentioned Informbureau resolution of 1948 came to be adopted. But perhaps we ought first to remind readers about the Informbureau itself. When and for what purpose was it founded?

V.Z. In May 1943 the Communist International, which had played an important part in uniting the Communist parties of the whole world, decided to dissolve itself, and for the next four years the communist movement had no organization uniting it. At the end of September 1947 an information conference was held in Poland attended by representatives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), the Communist Party of Romania, the Hungarian Communist Party, the Polish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the Communist Party of France, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Italy. For the mutual exchange of experience and coordination of the activities of the Communist parties it was decided to set up an Information Bureau consisting of representatives of the Central Committees of the parties that participated in the conference. Belgrade was chosen as the seat of the Informbureau and the editorial office of its official organ.

Studying the documents of that conference, I was particularly interested in how they defined the character of the Yugoslav revolution and social system in that country. In his report entitled "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the struggle for the independence of the peoples of the country, for people's government, for economic restoration and the socialist reconstruction of the economy," Edvard Kardelj, a prominent member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, stressed that "the people's democracy of Yugoslavia... is a specific form of Soviet democracy, corresponding to our situation and the specific conditions of the development of the people's liberation war in our country... The new Yugoslavia," Kardelj said, "unhesitatingly launched out on the road of socialist reconstruction of the country." This was the goal all the countries of people's democracy set themselves. The specific character of the ways and forms of achieving that goal was in the order of things. I must say that there were no differences of opinion on this score at the time, or at any rate they were not openly manifest.

We did not know about the letters signed by Joseph Stalin and Vyacheslav Molotov the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) sent to the leadership of the LCY in the first half of 1948. Hence the Informbureau resolution published on June 29, 1948, came for me (and indeed for a great many other people) as a complete surprise.

G.S. The main theses of the above-mentioned letters went into the resolution. Before speaking of the reasons for its appearance, is it not in place to dwell on its fundamental premises of the resolution?

V.Z. The resolution contained sharp criticism of the domestic and foreign policy pursued by the LCY. This was essentially condemnation of that policy. For instance, the resolution maintained that the Yugoslav party and state leadership "pursues an unfriendly policy towards the Soviet Union and the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)." This was at variance with what I myself had seen during my stay in that country. Moreover, the documents of the Informbureau conference indicate that at the end of 1947 everything was in order in Yugoslavia.

The resolution also contended that capitalist elements were on the ascendant in Yugoslavia. Yet it was common knowledge that the people's liberation

struggle was accompanied in Yugoslavia by a veritable civil war in which the bourgeoisie, or rather that section of it that sided with the fascist invaders, suffered a crushing defeat. At the end of the war and in the first postwar years there took place in Yugoslavia a rather radical socialization of the means of production in industry, in finances, etc. Therefore, to my mind, there was no soil conducive to the growth of "capitalist elements" at that time.

The resolution also spoke of the "incorrect policy" of the LCY with regard to the peasantry, particularly in respect of the role of the kulaks. Yet the fact is that the agrarian reform carried out in the country raised formidable obstacles to the growth of capitalist relationships in the agrarian sector of the economy. Moreover the preponderance of small-scale peasant land tenure was conditioned by the specific character of the country's historical development and the natural features of a number of regions.

The resolution concluded that "the leaders of the LCY have set themselves in opposition to the Communist parties belonging to the Informbureau, they have taken the road of a break with the united socialist front against imperialism, the road of betrayal of the cause of the international solidarity of the working people and of transition to positions of nationalism." It wound up with the declaration that "it is the task of the healthy forces of the LCY to compel its present leaders openly and honestly to admit their mistakes and rectify them... or, if the present leaders of the LCY prove incapable of this, to replace them with a new internationalist leadership."

G.S. These contentions clearly show that the Informbureau ignored the principle of the full independence and equality of the parties. The Informbureau and the LCY patently differed in their evaluation of certain issues. But these differences of opinion could and ought to have been the subject of constructive discussion. Actually, however, a situation arose in which the Informbureau substituted condemnation for discussion, and injunction for dialogue. Why was this so?

V.Z. The main reason, as I see it, was that the predominant tendency at that time was to pattern all the people's democracies after the U.S.S.R. After all, world socialism then had only the experience of the Soviet Union and the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) to draw on. The position of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which had launched out on the building of socialism in new conditions, differed somewhat from the thesis of the sharpening of the class struggle in the transition period, a thesis that was generally accepted and considered immutable. The LCY had its own opinion also on other questions.

The Informbureau resolution, invoking mainly the experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), condemned the position of the LCY on these questions as well. Thus, the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the building of socialism was bound to assume different forms in different countries was ignored.

In my opinion, there was also another reason. The administrative-command style of leadership that had taken root in our Party and country in the context of the personality cult manifested itself also in international affairs, in the given instance, in our relations with a socialist country.

The resolution was also evidently partly the result of a certain lack of coordination in the positions and actions of our countries on the international arena in matters relating to the postwar settlement.

G.S. The Informbureau resolution, then, became a turning point (in the negative sense) in Soviet-Yugoslav relations...

V.Z. Precisely. Unfortunately, the course steered in interstate relations was one of isolating Yugoslavia from the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies. Steps were taken to exclude it from participation in international democratic organizations. Soviet people were made to decline to accept Yugoslav decorations deservedly awarded them for participation in the fighting in Yugoslavia. In 1949 our country unilaterally denounced the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation with Yugoslavia.

G.S. In 1949 the Informbureau adopted another resolution on the LCY.

V.Z. Yes, it was adopted at a meeting of the Informbureau held in the second half of November 1949. The insulting epithets and labels that document abounded in quickly became part of the lexicon of our mass media. With a zeal worthy of better application, cartoonists indulged in variations on the theme of the resolution.

G.S. A situation in which any mention of the country was accompanied by a derogatory cliché and the names of its leaders invariably had labels attached, certainly did not help us to acquire a deeper knowledge of that country. Soviet people were deprived of any objective information about Yugoslavia. Yet at that same time an interesting quest for new ways of building socialism was under way there. The first steps in self-management were taken.

V.Z. The situation as regards foreign policy and the external economic conditions in which Yugoslavia found itself made it imperative to build an effective economy by going over to full independence and profitability of enterprises, to a broader involvement of the working people in the management of production. Moreover, at a time of sharp ideological debate it was necessary to conduct an intensive search for new forms of organizing the political system.

G.S. The state of Soviet-Yugoslav relations at that period (or rather the virtual absence of such relations) was abnormal and unnatural. And therefore could not last long.

V.Z. The break caused serious harm to both countries – political, economic and moral. It was therefore with great satisfaction that we learned of the visit to Belgrade in May 1955 of a Soviet top-level government delegation. In a brief statement on the arrival of the delegation in Yugoslavia, Nikita Khrushchev said: "We sincerely regret what happened and resolutely sweep away all the accretions of that period." As a result of frank negotiations President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Nikolai Bulganin signed on June 2, 1955 a joint declaration formulating the principles of the relations between the two countries.

G.S. Relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were normalized. At the 20th Congress of our Party it was underscored that the independence of the Communist parties was an indisputable law. But the old habits and stereotypes died hard.

V.Z. Yes, they again exerted a negative effect on Soviet-Yugoslav relations towards the end of the 1950s when the Yugoslav Communists were discussing the programme of their party. The dogmatism of our theoretical postulates at the time led to any departure from our own path being branded as a departure from Marxism. For this reason many of us were unable for years to take an unprejudiced view of Yugoslavia's experience in the building of socialism. This naturally did not contribute to the dynamic development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, to the speedy overcoming of feelings of resentment and the restoration of sympathy and trust.

G.S. The 27th Congress of the CPSU marked the turning point in the rejection of many stereotypes. A final and irreversible turning point.

V.Z. The many years' experience of interstate and interparty relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, between the CPSU and the LCY have proved convincingly that strict observance of the Leninist principles of international intercourse between Communist parties and between socialist states is the only and indispensable form of bilateral relations.

This was once again confirmed in the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted during the visit to Yugoslavia of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

...The U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia have been able to rise above feelings of offence and above prejudice, have been able to overcome what divided them. The right conclusions have been drawn from the lessons of those years.

Polar bridge

Just a few kilometres separated the members of the Soviet-Canadian Trans-Arctic expedition from the North Pole when this issue of the magazine was going to press. In their latest report to the editorial office sent from a point 85° 19′ north latitude and 94° 40′ east longitude they wrote:

"We have completed two 13-day stages. Our legs are swollen, our fingers ache, and our feet feel frozen. What tires us most is the constant tension. In the first 13 days we did 85 marches of 50 minutes each, in the second, 96."

A meeting with the Ice King.

They spent the last few days before starting out on their journey in the small pilots' hotel on Dixon Island. Ahead of them lay 18 hundred kilometres on skis from the Eastern to the Western Hemisphere, from the Old World to the New, from the Soviet Union to Canada. That was what they had been preparing and training for intensively for a whole year. It was while on Dixon Island that it was decided to increase the size of the expedition from the 11 members originally proposed to 13.

We asked the leader of the expedition Dmitry Shparo to describe the preparations for this Trans-Arctic undertaking. However, he was so busy with last-minute concerns that he was unable to do so. We received his notes only when the expedition had started on its journey. However, we believe that our readers will find them interesting, so here they are.

He begins by quoting letters received from Canadian schoolchildren. Liza Lemieux wrote: "We would all like to know what your weather is like, what you like to eat, what hobbies you enjoy and also what Russian children are like." In his letter Steve Neves said: "Thank you for coming to Canada. I admire your country. I hope you'll train hard in Frobisher Bay, so you'll be ready for your trip to the North Pole March 1, 1988." Dmitry Shparo noted that he had received dozens of letters from children in Canada, which he had visited five times in the past year. "I got to know many Canadians well," he wrote, "and not once did I feel any unfriendliness towards our country.

"To tell the truth, the most difficult thing about our journey across the North Pole will be, in my opinion, not the treacherous ice of the Arctic Ocean, but the relations that will be established between us members. For a hundred days we shall have to live side by side in a small tent without any amenities and with no chance of being alone or finding any other company. Psychologists describe this as a "closed collective" and "social isolation." Could it be that we might quarrel, that we might become enemies? That is the main danger. If we surmount it then we shall confirm that people from different countries can live in peace with one another, even more, they can work together and fight the mighty forces of nature.

"Back in the autumn, the Ministries of Communications of the U.S.S.R. and Canada signed an agreement under which Canadian radio hams were allowed to work on the territory of the U.S.S.R., and ours on Canadian territory. In North America the agreement was viewed as unprecedented and historic.

"Two base radio groups in the U.S.S.R. — on Sredniy Island and at the North Pole-28 drifting station, and two in Canada — in the Resolute Bay settlement and near Cape Columbia on Ellesmere Island where the journey is expected to end, will ensure safety en route. That is also the task of the mobile radio buoys belonging to the international system of sea rescue SARSAT-COSPAS. An agreement to this effect was signed between the U.S.S.R. and Canada, both countries being founder-members of this humane system.

"Doctors are interested in learning what psycho-emotional changes take place in a person in the course of a 100-day journey across the ice. They want to see the changes in the hormonal spectrum of the blood, the energy exchange, and the cardiovascular system... All the medical checks will be carried out at three stages: before our departure—that had been completed, somewhere en route, and at the end of our journey.

"The second programme is a geophysical one and includes studies of the Earth's magnetic field. Our route links two regions of the Northern Hemisphere with unusual magnetic fields — the Siberian and the Canadian anomalies. The details of this programme were drawn up by experts from both countries.

"The Moscow paper Komsomolskaya Pravda is sponsoring a 'Do you know Canada?' competition. The questions are being put to its readers. The panel of judges will choose eleven winners and they will visit Canada in the summer. The same is being done by the Toronto Star, and schoolchildren who show the best knowledge of the Soviet Union will come to visit our country.

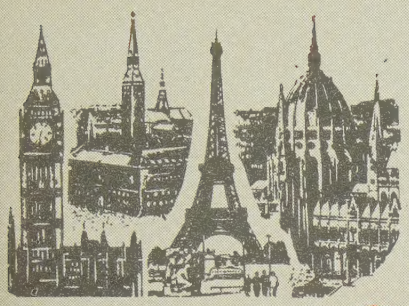
"When on Dixon Island, we received a telex from Canada, from the Ontario Science Centre. Its huge Museum of modern science will be staging an exhibition about our journey while we are en route with photographs, video tapes and a special desk receiving signals from the SARSAT-COSPAS satellite system.

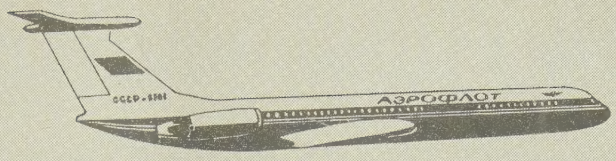
"It wasn't easy to get our partners to finance the Canadian side of the expedition. The first to provide the much needed money — and just when, because of the absence of funds, the whole idea hung in the balance — was George Cohan, President of the McDonald's of Canada Ltd. To start with, he sent a check for 25,000 Canadian dollars. That helped the Canadian members to come to our country in the summer, where we held a joint training session in the Tien Shan mountains. Later in Moscow he gave me a similar check...

"His motives were humane. He wanted the expedition to take place. He believed in man's boundless potential, in goodneighbourliness and peaceful ideals."

DMITRY SHPARO,
the leader of the Soviet-Canadian Trans-Arctic expedition
Photo by author

Anyone wishing to support the Soviet-Canadian Polar expedition is kindly requested to send his contribution to its Polar Bridge account opened with the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of the U.S.S.R. recently.





The Transsiberian
air route offers the shortest
and most convenient way
from Europe to Japan
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For details about transit flights
via the Soviet Union apply
to any Aeroflot agency
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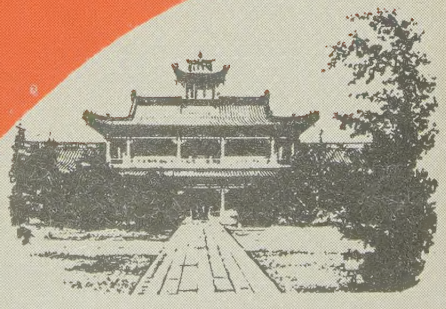

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